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THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
PATRISTIC STUDIES

VOL. I

ST. BASIL
and
GREEK LITERATURE

A DISSERTATION
Submitted to the Faculty of Letters of the Catholic University of America in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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BY
LEO V. JACKS, A. M.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON, D. C.
1922

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CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINE

330 or 331. Basil was born.
335. The Council of Tyre.
336. The death of Arius.
337. Death of Constantius.
343. Julian sent to Macellum.
343. Basil probably went to school at Caesarea.
344. Council of Sardica.
346. Basil went to Constantinople.
350. Death of Constans.
351. Basil went to Athens.
353. Death of Magnentius.
355. Julian at Athens.
355 or 356. Basil left Athens and returned to Caesarea.
357. Basil was probably baptized.
357. Basil was made reader.
358. Basil visited monastic establishments in Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Palestine with a view to studying conditions, preliminary to founding a monastic retreat of his own.
358. Basil went to the river Iris and entered the monastery.
359. Basil was at Constantinople at the end of the year and was on the homoousian side at the Synod of Seleucia.
360. Basil ordained deacon.
360. Basil left Caesarea, joining Gregory at Nazianzus.
361. Death of Constantine. Accession of Julian.
362. Basil returned to Caesarea.
363. Julian killed in the Persian War. Jovian became emperor.
364. Basil ordained priest.
365. Rebellion of Procopius.
366. Death of Pope Liberius.
367. Council of Tyana.
368. Famine in Cappadocia.
369. Death of Emmelia.
370. Death of Eusebius. Basil became bishop.
371. Valens divided the province of Cappadocia.
372. Valens at Caesarea.
373. Gregory of Nazianzus consecrated bishop. Gregory of Nyssa likewise, a little later.
373. Athanasius died. Between 372 and 373 began the estrangement between Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus.
373. Jovinus of Perrha visited Basil.
374. Auxentius died.
375. Valentinian died. Between 374 and 375 Gregory of Nazianzus died.
375. Gregory of Nyssa deposed.
376. Synod of Iconium.
376. Basil denounced Eustathius.
378. Valens died.
379. Basil died.

PREFACE

It is necessary to mention special assistance derived from Mr. J. M. Campbell's "Influence of the Second Sophistic upon the Style of the Sermons of St. Basil the Great" which was read while still in manuscript form, and which furnished interesting and important details on sophistic rhetoric. The use of this study much facilitated some of the work in connection with Atticism and the Second Sophistic.

The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness and express his sincere gratitude to Dr. Roy J. Deferrari, Head of the Departments of Greek and Latin at the Catholic University of America, under whose guidance the monograph was written, and from whose advice it has materially profited. Thanks are also due to Reverend Romanus Butin, S.M., Ph.D. and Reverend A. Vaschalde, Ph.D. for having read the manuscript and offered many valuable suggestions.

L. V. Jacks.

Washington, April 22d, 1922.

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INTRODUCTION

The object of this dissertation is to investigate Basil's knowledge of Greek literature, and to acquire as far as possible an insight into his attitude toward it. It is hoped that this object will be attained by collecting all direct quotations, all proper names, and all expressions and ideas which may with some degree of real certainty be attributed to the Greek civilization before him. This dissertation is not a study of sources, as such studies are generally understood. The common type of source investigation is an accumulation of every word, phrase, or idea which has even the remotest possibility of indicating a point of contact between two authors. By far the greater part of such material indicates little or nothing of certainty regarding a writer's use of the works of a predecessor. To repeat, the present study has to do only with certain or nearly certain signs of an acquaintance with, or an attitude of mind toward, the earlier Greek culture. These considerations must be borne in mind, especially in the study of the philosophers (Chapter III) to whom Basil is commonly supposed to be greatly indebted.

The section of Basil's writings which deals with philosophy and those passages which have philosophical tendencies will be the most difficult to explain. The stories of history, or the clear cut verses of the poets, are followed with comparative ease, but the tortuous windings of philosophical thought make a maze that is often bewildering to the last degree. Many studies later recognized as distinct from formal philosophy were then hopelessly confused with it. Most of the rudimentary forms of science were so placed. Writers upon geography, like Strabo, and men who recorded the lives and deeds of the philosophers, like Diogenes Laertius, appear in simple references. Basil's philosophical allusions may be divided roughly into two groups, a smaller one, representing very early thought and headed principally by Zeno and Prodicus of Ceos, and a larger one representing the acme of Greek philosophy, as set forth by Plato and

Aristotle. To this latter group a few late writers upon morals and conduct, like Plutarch and Marcus Aurelius, form a subsidiary class.

In philosophy, as in history or in poetry, quotations, or more or less direct statements that a thinker is responsible for some idea, are the simplest indications of the author's acquaintance with the philosophers. But many ideas which were common would very likely be mentioned without an authority being cited, and with many others perhaps Basil himself was not sure of the origin. In the case of philosophy, as in the case of poetry, when increasing age and care had gradually separated the man from his early studies and tended to hold him upon a beaten track of routine work, the fine distinctions of the ancient thinkers would be lost in the pressure of more immediate concerns. Toward the end of his life the saint was an exceedingly busy man and one forced to conserve his time.

Basil's usage of Plato will call for a great deal of explanation. Of all the Greek philosophers none could write like Plato and none was so well known for literary reasons. Few thinkers so well combined good reasoning with such persuasive exposition. His very mistakes possessed an attractive appearance, for from beginning to end he sought for ideals and so delicately wove them into his discourse that the impossibility of the realization of many of them was lost sight of in the beauty and dexterity of the general presentation. Again, many of his ideals were as sublime as those of any Christian. To quote such a writer was an ever present temptation to the Greek speaking orator. Few references could be used so effectively, and few would be so certain of instant recognition as those expressing the ordinary sentiments of the famous philosopher. Basil's various possible borrowings from Plato's philosophical system indicate little certainty regarding his literary appreciation of the r an. However there is sufficient certain evidence to show that he admired Plato, and it will be seen that his literary uses of Plato's name and works were prompted by sincere admiration and esteem.

The case of Aristotle is different, yet for other reasons equally intricate. A man like Aristotle would not be quoted by reason of his style and diction, and it will appear that Basil estimates Aristotle's style very shrewdly. Basil refers to him by name and Aristotle's reputation must have counted with some weight. There is no doubt that Basil employed numerous stories and

references that are obviously Aristotelian. What Basil knew about Aristotle and his works will be evident from the usage that he makes of his information and the information is considerable.

In the case of legend and history (Chapter II) there is less material with which to work. It is quite impossible to assign many historical instances to definite places and, pointing out an author, to say that a certain reference belongs to him, or, citing a particular legend, to state that it originated in a certain place or with a certain writer. In the confused conditions of early Greek legend the best that can be done is to find for these references origins that are at least not unlikely, and if possible to locate them with authors who have a right to be considered of primary importance both for their own value and according to the probability that Basil used them. If a definite quotation is given, or an explicit statement that a particular passage is from a certain author, that would almost certainly establish the individual instance as being the work of the man in question. Basil's truthfulness may be assumed. But his memory was sometimes faulty, and many of his citations lie open to the suspicion of being made at random in the course of an oration, or rapidly written letter, and never verified. The reasons are natural. A poetical quotation may be given word for word, a philosopher may be cited in his own phraseology which is needed to convey the precise thought, but rarely does anyone endeavor to reproduce an historical event in other than his own language, or without emphasizing those shades of the matter which most appeal to his own imagination, or are best understood by his own caliber of intelligence. Two important things then occur. The original wording is lost sight of, and the grouping of events by the historian is superseded by the grouping of events which seems best to the secondary writer. This may change the entire appearance of the actual fact.

In the case of legend and history, another difficult task is to differentiate between a story that can be to some extent verified, and narrations that are so far back in antiquity that they rest for their authority upon a scanty trace of evidence. More ancient than these are the purely legendary materials which have their basis presumably upon a foundation of fact somewhere in the archaic past, but which cannot possibly be verified. Greek literature teems with stories of this nature and anyone well read in

the early authors could have had an inexhaustible fund of this doubtful matter ready for literary use and allusion. Proverbs and cant sayings flourished. Apt stories were told of noted characters and from year to year were repeated and magnified. These things were the common property of the people, and enriched the folk lore in a variety of ways. Wandering minstrels giving Homeric recitations seized upon this material and used it to advantage. It grew and flourished.

Finally, as regards the poets (Chapter I) the case is briefer and easier to follow than in any other field. The study of Basil's acquaintance with the poets must of necessity be based largely upon quotation. In poetry far less than in prose is a section of verse imitated or paralleled in the prose of another writer. A striking line or a peculiar word may stay in the memory and later be recalled, but this idea of its very nature, being clear cut and isolated, has a tendency to keep separated from attendant ideas and not to sink back after a short time into the hazy general condition to which prose information reduces itself. Prose imitation of great epic or tragic scenes is certainly not uncommon, but these cases are susceptible of perception and recognition.

It is hoped that such a study as this will contribute to a very much neglected department of the history of ancient literary criticism. The inattention to the Greek Fathers as literary critics is strange. For a long time an impression has prevailed that they were blindly and unreasoningly opposed to everything pagan, and that in Greek literature good and bad alike were obnoxious to them. The falsity of such views is constantly being demonstrated. The Greek Fathers possessed real and deep feeling for classical Greek culture, for Greek ideals, and for Greek literature. In the field of ancient literary criticism the Latin Fathers have not suffered from corresponding neglect, though they have no more reason, if as much, to be favored with this attention. Of the Eastern Fathers Chrysostom is the figure upon whom most of the attack has been centered, yet Chrysostom is proven from his own words to have assailed only the objectionable features of paganism. Enlightened pagans had done as much long before Chrysostom's day. It seems strange that in a work such as Saintsbury's "History of Criticism" (New York, 1900.) there is not one word regarding the Eastern Fathers, though attention is devoted to St. Augustine as the chief exponent of the Latin Fathers. In view of the close relationship, at times real unity,

between the Eastern and Western churches during the early centuries, it is interesting to note that although the Latin Fathers read the works of the Eastern ones and made great use of them in their own writings, and also read at least some of the Greek classics, if only in a Latin translation, there is absolutely no trace of decisive evidence to show that the reverse is true. It cannot be shown that any Greek Father studied a single Latin author. There were indeed no early Latin Fathers. For Greek, as shown in inscriptions and similar early records, was the official language of the Christians in Rome for the first century and part of the second, so that the Latin Fathers proper did not come till late and the Greek language had had control in all departments of early church activity, as far as official transactions were concerned, for some time. The extensive adaptation and even copying which had always prevailed among Latin writers produced many passages that are counterparts of Greek originals but in these imitations and borrowings is no trace of evidence that the Greek Fathers were ever concerned about the literature of their Western confreres. There are no passages in Basil imitative of Western writers.

CHAPTER I

CHRISTIAN AND PAGAN LEARNING DURING THE EARLY CENTURIES OF THE CHURCH

Educated Christians of the Fourth Century took much the same view of culture as prevailed among the more enlightened pagans. Fanatics there were of course, but scholarly Christians understood the classic models taught and recognized their worth. While forming distinct entities, Pagan culture and Christian culture had much in common, since all the world looked to ancient Athens for its standards. Homer, Euripides, Demosthenes and many another were read, taught and studied. It is not surprising therefore that educated Christians took a view at least as liberal as that of Plato. "Therefore it is imperative that those things which the young first hear should be models of moral thought."[1]

The best that the pagan culture of the times could produce was the ideal poise of the Periclean Greek mind. And this mind was governed by expediency. Virtue was interpreted in terms of patriotism, or constancy to family ties. The citizen of Herodotus' tale who lived free from misfortune, saw his children married, prosperous and happy, and then ended his life fighting for his country, had lived ideally and was unusually favored by the gods.[2] Physical beauty, balance and address, a mentality collected, deliberative, and sympathetically attuned to harmony in its operations with the world around, and a certain reserve which restrained every thought and desire by maintaining a medium of moderation both in public and private concerns, clearly defined the best stand that Athenian culture could reach. This did not suit Christianity at all.

But a few undeniably Christian virtues existed in the Attic theory of rational life. Some points were common. Household

[1] Plato, Republic, 378 E. ἃ πρῶτα ἀκούουσιν ὅτι κάλλιστα μεμυθολογημένα πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀκούειν.

[2] *Cf.* Herodotus, I. 30.

virtues, patriotism, integrity in public and private affairs, respect for duly constituted authority, and at least an outward reverence for the Deity, were factors in both systems of culture. Through these points of mutual interest an understanding was reached which prevented a clash that would have been absolutely destructive to one or the other. On these grounds both theories of life met. Christianity taught a culture less refined but more rugged, less artistic in detail but grander in outline and design. Pagan culture struck for individual development to the very pinnacle of personal and public aggrandizement, in every field. Christianity taught self sacrifice. The pagan culture was weary. The Christian was young. The outcome was logical. The better factors of the old system were appropriated by the new, and the elder civilization passed to its final rest. But its finer side was not unappreciated and the very men who inherited its wealth of thought, of beauty, and of restraint, and who preached a religion that spelled its death, were as much alive to its wonders as were ever its exponents in the golden age. Christian culture did not clash with pagan culture but absorbed it, and so lost many of its own ruder qualities. In the time of the Greek Fathers many new influences were beginning to take effect and old standards were subtly altered.

A body of Christian literature had begun to develop. It could not hope to compete with Attic models but it had followers and a value of its own. Christian writers were producing commentaries upon the scriptures, christian romances, ecclesiastical histories, sermons, orations, apologies, and tracts of many forms. The volume of these productions grew steadily. The Church was conservative but was also careful to cut away from her doctrines all the overgrowing accumulation of legend and tradition which throve upon the wonders of the early ages. Hellenism was being affected by Christian and Jewish canons of style and aestheticism, for Hellenistic literature had received many deep and lasting impressions from without.

Hellenism was a name rather loosely applied to the spirit of that Grecian civilization expressing itself chiefly through literature, art and general culture, which, after pervading the whole Greek race, gradually wrought an influence upon peoples not of Greek blood who came in contact with it. For instance, a person who shared in this intellectual sympathy by writing or thinking like the Hellenes would be called Hellenistic. Hellenism was a

matter not of race but of culture, not of genius but of canons. It invented little or nothing, but throve upon the existing literary monuments of the past.

Semitic associations with Hellenism were very large and unusually noticeable. In Egypt the population was about one-seventh Jewish and the Jews had spread their trading influences throughout all stations of life, altering to some extent many of the older and accepted canons of art, literature and aestheticism. The Jewish merchants were very numerous and exceedingly active. This situation had a decided effect upon the language of the people, and a more remote but still very perceptible effect upon the written medium. These activities of Semitic representatives are perhaps too little recognized, or are even minimized by many students of that period. Alexandrian scholars were affected by Jewish associations, and their efforts at organization and classification had a noticeable strain of Jewish thought. The syncretism of Alexandria was deeply shaded by Semitic surroundings.

The influence of these great schools at Alexandria had spread into every field of literature, profoundly affecting it by influencing the educational tendencies of the times. Early Christian literature had attacked Hellenism violently, because all things pagan were coming in for a sweeping condemnation. Christian Fathers of the first century had thought pagan philosophy was from the devil. But as early as the time of Justin Martyr the first destructive and blind opposition had begun to take other channels, and Justin, himself originally a pagan philosopher, far from abandoning formal philosophy after conversion, cherished it as finding its real truth in Christianity.[3] In his Second Apology Justin has occasion to refer to himself as "taking delight in the teachings of Plato"[4] and in the opening chapter of the Dialogue with Trypho, writes, "Do not philosophers make all their disputations about God, said he, and do not debates arise upon every occasion about His unity and His foreknowledge? Assuredly, he replied, and so we understand."[5]

But the pagan culture pointed toward an object distinctly different from that which the early Christians had in mind, and

[3] *Cf.* Eusebius, H. E., 4, 18, 6.

[4] Justin Martyr, Second Apology, 12, 1. τοις Πλάτωνος χαίρων διδάγμασι.

[5] Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, I. 3, 4. οὐχ οἱ φιλόσοφοι περὶ θεοῦ τὸν ἅπαντα ποιοῦνται λόγον ἐκεῖνος ἔλεγε, καὶ περὶ μοναρχίας αὐτοῖς καὶ προνοίας αἱ ζητήσεις γίνονται ἑκάστοτε; Ἢ οὐ τοῦτο ἔργον ἐστι φιλοσοφίας ἐξετάζειν περὶ τοῦ θείου; Ναὶ, ἔφην, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεις δεδοξάκαμεν.

the wisdom at which the Greek philosophers aimed had entirely left out of account the high religious ideas of the Christians. To this fatal defect the Fathers naturally objected.

The question of Hellenism then was one on which the Fathers were fairly united. It was the dominant spirit of pagan culture. The finer phases of pagan civilization had been nothing if not Hellenistic. Politically, Hellenism was dead; artistically, it was experiencing all the finely wrought involution of a self conscious over-development recoiling upon itself, and such elaborate strivings for a perfection which weakened and lowered the original as characterize helpless and hopeless decadence. Socially and morally its essence was decay. It stood for a great age. But that age was gone. Hellenism was becoming Asiatic.

Asianism was a development in the field of rhetoric which infused into Greek public speech on the continent the more striking features of thought and oratory common to the Asiatic type of mind, and resulted in building up on the groundwork of Greek language and style, an accumulation of such details as appealed to the fanciful eastern intellect, a great deal of vivid coloring, an extraordinarily figurative address, a tendency to expression through the medium of parables and apothegms, and a weakness for far-fetched metaphors in which the implication is not always clear. In contrast, Atticism was the literary movement which at first tended to regulate literature according to the canons of style which had prevailed among Attic writers of the classical period, but later degenerated, and instead of employing Attic standards as an inspiration and guide, because of their purity and symmetry, insisted upon imitation of things Attic for little other reason than that they were Attic. While it led to some good, because it made brief headway against the tide of extreme Asianism, yet it ultimately became essentially artificial and lifeless. With these two tendencies is connected the movement called the New or Second Sophistic. This latter activity started out as an attempt simply to revive Greek Rhetoric, and prevailed over Greece and Asia Minor for approximately four centuries, dating from about the end of the first century A. D. It strove to restore the style of ancient Greek Rhetoric by close imitation of various ancient masters such as Lysias, Isocrates and Demosthenes. In its beginnings it was Atticism, but many contemporary influences prevented it from arriving at the pure Grecian oratory which most of the sophists would have liked to revive, the most important

of these influences being Asianism itself. In other words the Second Sophistic was Asianism with Atticism superimposed. But whatever the scholars of the day might name it, the spirit that prevailed was not Attic, or Hellenistic. The ideals that were set up and striven for constituted florid and extravagant Asianism. In a few places a stand had been made. But the prevalent literature shows very little of perfect aesthetic taste, or of the classic spirit of restraint. Tropes, figures, artificialities, rhetoric for its own sake, an inexhaustible stock of commonplaces, the most astounding and extravagant forms of compliment with invective proportionately vicious, were all synthetized into a system of glaring coloring and hyperbolical imagery. Its qualities signified the exotic and unhealthy nature of its strained development.

Church leaders clearly interpreted all the better things of the sophistic rhetoric of the day, but equally clearly understood and opposed the worse qualities that accompanied it. They were not alone. Some pagan professors stood out for a better grade of Hellenism, but a language expresses the spirit of its time, and the spirit of that time had but little kinship with that of old Greece, except in so far as it was pagan. The word Hellene meant in that day only a pagan. Julian, in speaking of his subjects, regularly refers to Hellenes, Hebrews, and Galileans, as he called the Christians. The fact that he assailed the Christian religion by forbidding the Christian teachers to explain the classics would argue that the Christians had been delving into pagan literature rather noticeably.[6]

The whole question of Christian education was very much debated but it is clear that this was a problem that the Church dealt with very differently in different places. At no time were pagan classics absolutely condemned, and among Christians after the first century the regard for pagan scholarship increased. But where conditions made it impossible for Christians to go far into this field without endangering their faith, such studies were not encouraged. But the greater minds of the Church recognized the value in all the finer parts of pagan civilization and busied themselves in appropriating these for the benefit of Christian education.[7] For, to smooth away some of the rudeness inevitably

[6] For a discussion of this legislation by Julian confer Allard, Julien L'Apostate, Tom. II., La legislation scolaire de Julien.

[7] There was a catechetical school at Alexandria of which Pantene was the first head. Clement lectured there between the years 190 and 202 A.D. It was probably the best and most noted Christian school.

connected with its origin among the unlettered classes, Christianity needed the help of this dying civilization. The Christian religion, rising from among poor and unsophisticated people, brought with it some of their views of culture and education. But the new creed had rapidly seized all classes and enlisted the highest and most learned, and these acquisitions almost imperceptibly altered some of the older opinions. Justin Martyr had lectured in a school of philosophy at Rome, and had given education a trend by the influence he had there exerted. His conversion had another effect.[8]

Thus, while educated Christians were carefully sifting through pagan studies and delving into what did not assail their faith and morals, at the same time they were hastening the development of the Christian literature that had begun to form. New fields were opened and thought took many new turns. The variety of Christian activities is amazing. For example, when Julian's edict hampered the Christians' study of the Greek classics, the two Apollinares made themselves famous in Christian literature by paraphrasing a large part of the Old Testament in imitation of Plato's dialogues, and re-writing some sections in epic style.[9] The literary value of such work is doubtful, but the zeal and activity of the writers and their acquaintance with the classics is in no doubt.

The training of the Christian young was gradually growing to have new objects and new needs. In the time of the three Cappadocians the violent pagan persecutions had passed, and toleration existed in the Empire. Since religion could be openly practiced and argued there was greater need for highly educated exponents. Ability to preach, teach and explain, had become more important than sheer zeal and a courage for martyrdom. Educated and capable Christian leaders became a necessity. But Christian schools were few. That at Alexandria was the most famous.[10] Others existed at Nisibis, Edessa and Antioch in the East, and at Rome, Milan and Carthage in the West. Perforce education was largely sought in pagan centers and Christian minds bent to the task of eliminating paganism from what was taught in the schools, and then, from what remained, selecting such material as best served Christianity. In this striving for educa-

[8] For a brief account of Justin's school see Lalanne, Influence des Peres de l'Eglise sur l'education publique, p. 17 and 18.

[9] *Cf.* Socrates, H. E., 3, 16, for a discussion of this event.

[10] *Cf.* Lalanne, Op. cit. p. 31.

tion, the Hellenism of the day was variously received. The essential balance and finesse of the Greek mind, the mean of philosophical calm and perfect address, and the shrewd reasoning, were praised and sought for steadily. The historian Socrates mentions these studies at length and tells how the Christians strove for greater perfection, and were extremely careful in their studies of the pagan authors, to gain all the mechanical tricks of pagan skill without adopting the false ideas that pervaded the works. He reminds the Christian reader that the Apostle himself was instructed in Greek learning and did not seem to neglect it, and certainly did not forbid any one else to study it.[11]

Literary education, much as it was needed, carried with it the menace of a lapse into the shallow sophistry characteristic of the times. Hence it was considered carefully, even dubiously, but those churchmen who understood the situation were unanimously in favor of the spread of literary education among the Christians.

They had a keen sense of the worth of higher studies. Justin Martyr above quoted, says, "Is not this the province of philosophy, to inquire about God? Assuredly, he replied, and so we understand."[12] Clement of Alexandria, in his Exhortation to the Greeks, successively commends Plato, Antisthenes, Socrates, Xenophon, Cleanthes, and some of the Pythagorean doctrines, pointing out the ethical purity of their views and teachings, and saying "These doctrines through the inspired intention of God were written by their authors and we have selected them. To lead one toward a full knowledge of God these teachings are enough for anyone who can seek the truth even to a small extent." Then continuing in the same section to commend the poets, he preaches in favor of the Greek authors.[13] After these remarks about the philosophers he begins in the following chapter to cite the poets by name. "Aratus then, indeed, knows that the power of God animates the universe."[14] Again in the same section he

[11] *Cf.* Socrates, H. E., 3, 16.

[12] Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, I., 3. 4. Ἦ οὐ τοῦτο ἔργον ἐστὶ φιλοσοφίας, ἐξετάζειν περὶ τοῦ θείου; Ναὶ, ἔφην, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς δεδοξάκαμεν.

[13] Clement of Alexandria, Exhortation to the Greeks, ch. 6. ἀπόχρη καὶ τάδε εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν θεοῦ ἐπιπνοίᾳ θεοῦ πρὸς αὐτῶν μὲν ἀναγεγραμμένα πρὸς δὲ ἡμῶν ἐξειλεγμένα τῷ λε καὶ σμικρὸν διαθρεῖν ἀλήθειαν δυναμένῳ.

[14] Clement of Alexandria, Exhortation to the Greeks, ch. 7. Ἄρατος μὲν οὖν διὰ πάντων τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ διήκειν νοεῖ.

says of Hesiod, "In the same spirit the Ascraean Hesiod likewise speaks about God."[15]

More quotations of the same order are offered, such names as Homer, Orpheus, Euripides and others being cited.

There can be no doubt whatever that the really great leaders of the Christians took a view of literary education at once highly cultured and eminently sensible. As might have been expected, the Fathers' views of Atticism followed their views of literary education. All their writings are pervaded by the influences of the prevalent literary and stylistic movements, and it seems at times that the more they endeavor to be natural, the more forced and labored are their efforts. Among the teachers of the inflated rhetoric which then prevailed it was a common habit to carry the sophisms of professional speech and the stock idioms of their lecture courses into their regular conversation, so that even their everyday speech took on a bombastic and semi-theatrical tone. Inability to be at home in such a grotesquely academic conversation, whether it resulted from never having studied such matters, or from having forgotten them and resumed the diction of the people, would be embarrassing to a scholar addressing a sophist. So this situation affected even the ordinary language of the people.

Orators of the fourth century, pagan and Christian alike, were steeped in the rhetorical influences of the times. The hyperbolical compliment, the profusion of figures, the hollow self depreciation, the flowery and gaudy tone, the wild flights of fancy, were all as natural to them as the air they breathed. Beyond doubt the efforts for Attic purity of speech were cherished among many men of learning. Grammarians and scholars labored assiduously to interpret, explain and teach the best of the Attic writers. No standard could be better than that of ancient Athens, so they would have no other. Basil thinks it a high compliment to call one's tongue Attic. His view was typical. So much in fact did some scholars, especially the Alexandrians, insist upon studying, commenting upon, and above all imitating the classical authors that an idea arose, and for many years prevailed, that all the Alexandrians never did anything more than servilely imitate their classical predecessors. It was believed that they produced endless arrays of cold and ponderous imitations of Hesiod and Homer, and their kinsfolk the cyclic poets, great lists

[15] Clement of Alexandria, Exhortation to the Greeks, ch. 7. ταύτῃ τοι καὶ ὁ Ἀσκραῖος αἰνίττεται Ἡσίοδος τὸν θεόν.

of dull and spiritless tragedies modelled after Euripides, and that in like fashion, in other fields of literature, they exhausted their strength in copying and nothing more. These conclusions were not entirely true, though drawn from premises undoubtedly true, namely that the Alexandrians remained almost blindly faithful to the ancient classics and made them the center of all their study.

But in the age of Himerius, of Prohairesius, of Libanius, with the models of classic Atticism before him, a man of letters whether he was christian or pagan, was tinged with Atticism. Education had centered in points of learning. There scholarship flourished. Only at large libraries were there the best opportunities. This was inevitable in an age of no printing. Libraries were few. Hand made and hand written books took time, labor, and money as well. So professors established themselves at these centers where they read, studied, lectured, and wrote commentaries and imitations. In smaller places libraries were imperfect, or lacking, and the facilities for university life impossible. But at Athens the center of classicism, and at Alexandria, for many years endowed by the Ptolemies, there were vast degrees of wealth, of resources, of general opportunities. Here the finer phases of Attic influence were keenly studied and highly valued.[16] Time and custom had added their touch of magnificence to these ancient schools. Scholars traveled from far and near to reach these centers or to hear the more famous professors. Basil's wandering journeys to hear the philosopher Eustathius[17] are a fair index to the difficulties under which students sometimes sought their more advanced education.

It is not unreasonable then to believe that in their literary studies and education the Fathers were quite as ready to accept the high and noble sentiments of Atticism as the scholars of today. As they recognized the need for education, and argued for it systematically, they exerted a great influence over the systems of schooling then prevalent. Hence their attitude toward the second sophistic is one of curiously seeming contradiction, true and yet apparently inconsistent. Every faulty influence was readily marked and exposed by them, but the orators who spoke in the eastern churches showed every rhetorical trick of the period.

[16] In ch. 23 of his oration at Basil's funeral, Gregory Nazienzen gives a sketch of the variety of studies and readings in which students at Athens could engage.

[17] *Cf.* Letter, 1.

They had, however, perhaps the least objectionable elements of the sophistic and judging their speeches without considering their audiences would be deeply unfair. Asianism in its last developments was thoroughly objectionable, yet in the beginning it had served a definite purpose. The highly imaginative, fickle, and restless intellects of these peoples responded better to such stimuli than to any other. If the writer, or rhetor, in his desire to please, to refute, or to be stylistic, overran all the bounds of good taste according to Athenian models, he did it at least in the consciousness that the reader or hearer was fully in sympathy, and might be engaged in estimating the merits of the composition by the extravagence in diction or imagery.

The attitude of the Fathers toward sophistic rhetoric was colored by the fact that nearly all the great church leaders were also great speakers, and some, like Basil, had been professional rhetoricians or sophistic teachers, or had had some connection with the greater schools of declamation. Very few thought of sophistic influence without a bias of some sort. After all, a speaker must persuade. If he cannot, he might as well not speak. The Church had bitter assailants. Necessity weighed upon the speakers who defended the orthodox creed. The homoousion quarrel had shaken the Eastern Church to its foundations, and heresies were rampant. The fathers might condemn the shallowness of sophistic, but they used its figures, they raged against its irreligious tendencies but they found its melodious diction an asset. Its quibbling and hair splitting disgusted them, nevertheless it was popular and they had to preach to the people. The seeming contradiction between their attitude toward sophistic and their actual practice, is in reality no contradiction. A view has long prevailed that they were united in a sweeping condemnation of the whole movement. But this is no more true than that they unreservedly favored it. Sophistic influence prevailed with the people. The faith had to be represented in terms that the people could understand. Christian orators followed the mean, generally with good success. Basil's sermons are close reasoning. Frequently they are also highly figurative. With two such differently constituted characteristics, the greatest skill was required to make them fit side by side.

The attitude of the Fathers then, on this question of the second sophistic must be properly understood. As in their ideas upon education they strove patiently to make clear the distinction

that what was great and noble in the pagan classics was well worthy of admiration and imitation, while the degenerate elements that had crept in were to be sedulously avoided, so, in their views of sophistic, they endeavored to distinguish definitely between the formal rhetoric with the practical devices of a writer, reader, or speaker, and the unworthy ends to which such devices when improperly employed or controlled, frequently tended. Unfortunately there was often a hopeless entanglement between the devices of sophistic ingenuity and the shallow consequences in which their better strength was wasted.

Hence the spirit that animated the whole work of the Fathers and the view that they regularly advanced of sophistic must be understood in connection with these two points. They preached to pagan and Christian. But to do this they had to use the medium of the day which the people would understand. This was the popular rhetoric, saturated with many foreign forms, and transient elements, literary, political, social, religious, Christian, Alexandrian, Semitic, Hellenic and pure Asiatic. Thus, to illustrate their views they used whatever pagan medium they could employ which would promise telling effect without being in itself pernicious or condemned.

CHAPTER II

ST. BASIL'S EDUCATION

Basil's religious education was begun at a very early age and was kept up without intermission during the years that he spent at home. Training of a very austere type prevailed. His father, Basil, and mother, Emmelia, were Christians of the most pious kind, and the whole household was apparently more or less under the control of Basil's grandmother, Macrine. While the elder Basil taught rhetoric at Neocaesarea, the old Macrine directed the concerns of the family which was located at Annesi, and instructed the children in the teachings of Gregory Thaumaturgus and his successors. Basil and his brothers, Peter of Sebaste and Gregory of Nyssa, all became saints by acclamation, while their sister, the younger Macrine, attained the same distinction, too. The three brothers became prominent in the church of Cappadocia, and all were bishops. These facts speak significantly for the old Macrine's methods of training. The religious teachings given by Macrine concluded with studies in the lives of the earlier saints, and some chanting of psalms. Her recollections reached back to times of actual persecution (Diocletian's), and she had been personally acquainted with Gregory Thaumaturgus, so that her discourses were based upon a background of personal knowledge, observation and experience, which would make her discourse particularly impressive. The saint was deeply affected by Macrine's words. As a child he was physically weak, sensitive, and even sickly, and his infirmities seem to have continued with him throughout life, and perhaps being aggravated by the hardships of his asceticism, and the later worry and strain of his episcopal career, had much to do with hastening his death. Children less sensitive than Basil would have received lasting effects from such teachings and surroundings.

Much of our information about Basil's early life is of doubtful worth. Scattered references in his own works, Gregory of Nyssa in his life of Saint Macrine, and Gregory of Nazianzus in

some indirect references and mainly in his funeral oration over Basil furnish about all the indices we have to the saint's career. It is to be remembered, too, that Gregory of Nazianzus was not a companion of Basil's extreme youth and got his information from sources other than observation. Conjecture thus enters very largely into the study of Basil's youth and, indeed, of the greater part of his life. Many of the dates are hopelessly confused.

Basil's home life then gave him, besides a strong religious foundation, something of an insight into classical literature, for Macrine had her youthful students read the more elevated passages of the Greek poets and gave them many points of advice in such amusements. The father had planned brilliant careers for his sons, and in due time dispatched them to Caesarea, the capital and chief city of Asia Minor, where he himself at one time had been a teacher. Caesarea was almost entirely Christian, and Basil and Gregory, who went there together, could have found but little paganism to allure them. They could hardly have found anything else either, for the schools were poor and Cappadocia not highly intellectual. In more cosmopolitan centers Cappadocians were considered extremely provincial and uncouth. Perhaps the most important part of their education in Caesarea was the friendship that they formed with Gregory of Nazianzus. In the funeral oration Gregory dwells admiringly upon Basil's proficiency in his studies while at Caesarea, saying that the saint appeared better than his teachers. Possibly this brilliancy hastened their departure to more noted centers of learning where the teachers were more practised. Byzantium, the great headquarters of the Eastern Empire, drew their attention.

It is to be marked closely that upon leaving Caesarea they practically left sure Christian teaching and committed themselves to pagan schools. Christian professors existed in these too, but the influences were not professedly Christian as had been the case in Caesarea, but rather professedly pagan. Gregory of Nazianzus went to Alexandria and Basil to Constantinople. Basil probably attended the lectures of Libanius, the celebrated sophist, and his studies in Greek were particularly successful, resulting in a personal friendship with Libanius. But he acquired an excellent insight into true Hellenic studies, and in consequence decided to seek Athens. Libanius, if his letters are any index, had the deepest respect for his pupil's talents.

Just where Basil met Libanius is a much discussed question. It seems that with such data as now exist no absolutely certain conclusion follows.[1] There is no definite statement anywhere to the effect that Basil studied with Libanius in Constantinople. But the chronology of Libanius' career in Constantinople and Nicomedia makes such an event possible, and Libanius was undoubtedly one of the greatest teachers of his time. This gives reason to suspect that Libanius is the man meant by Gregory of Nazianzus when he says in the funeral oration that Basil studied with the most famous of the sophists and philosophers of Constantinople during the stay there.

From Constantinople Basil went to Athens. At its university paganism and Hellenism were making their final stand. Here he began his regular and systematic studies. Gregory of Nazianzus had arrived there from Alexandria shortly before. Greek literature was, of course, the keynote to the whole system of university education. Basil and Gregory studied philosophy and logic, rhetoric and grammar, which latter was at that time very comprehensive and embraced a variety of lesser studies, and some rudiments of the sciences of astronomy, geometry, mathematics and medicine.[2] In the literary studies Homer was supreme. Christian and Pagan alike took the two great epics as the pinnacle of fine literature. Hesiod and the tragic poets came next. Pindar

[1] Wilhelm von Christ states explicitly (Gr. Liter. Gesch. III., p. 801) that Basil was at Libanius' school in Nicomedia, and that later, when Libanius taught at Antioch, Basil the Great, with Theodorus of Mopsuestia, and Gregory Nazienzen were his scholars. He gives a note to Socrates' Ecclesiastical History, but the reference is confused and the Basil there mentioned was probably a man of the same name who was bishop of Raphanea, and not Basil the Great. It is all a confused question. Opposed to von Christ are Lothholz, Dörgens, Scholl and Schäfer, who gave Constantinople as the place of Basil's meeting with the sophist. Lothholz (1857, Basilius des Grossen Rede an christliche Jünglinge, p. 11) writes "In Constantinople he heard as it seems the celebrated sophist Libanius," apparently accepting the statement of Niebuhr (Vortr. üb. alt. Gesch. 3, 539). Dörgens writes: "It was also in Constantinople where he became the friend and auditor of the sophist Libanus, fifteen years older than himself." (Dörgens, Der heilige Basilius und die classischen Studien, p. 5, 1857.) And in 1881 Scholl, discussing the matter (in a footnote), writes: "In Constantinople he came into relations with the heathen philosopher Libanius." (Scholl, Die Lehre des heiligen Basilius von der Gnade, p. 1.) J. Schäfer in 1909 writes, "From there (Cæsarea) Basil went to Constantinople . . . there he also heard Libanius." (J. Schäfer, Basilius des Grossen Beziehungen zum Abendlande, p. 38.) Schäfer dismisses the case for Nicomedia in a footnote (p. 38) because Gregory of Nazienzen says nothing of it. Otto von Bardenhewer, in his Gesch. d. altkir. Lit., says nothing on either side.

[2] *Cf.* Gregory Nazienzen, Oratio in laudem Basilii Magni, ch. 23 ff.

seems to have been a favorite, according to Gregory, and the historians Thucydides and Herodotus furnished prose records of more ancient times, while the orations of Lysias, Isocrates and Demosthenes were the models of public speech. Aristotle and Plato appear to have been the main philosophers, but Basil betrays a wide acquaintance with other Greek thinkers, some of whom are very early. Other studies also had been well developed. Euclid in geometry, Strabo in geography, Ptolemy in mathematical astronomy and geography, Archimedes in mathematics and mechanics, Eratosthenes in scientific chronology, Galen in medicine, were all known, and read and studied. So, if Basil's scientific courses were diligently followed, he would have had some very fair leaders, but Basil, to judge from his own writings, did not learn much science, or rapidly forgot what he did learn. His geography is especially faulty. In literary fields the body of folk lore, legend and story which had grown up over the earlier literature was tremendous, and in its turn exercised an influence over studies. A vast quantity of commentaries upon such authors as Plato, Homer and the tragic poets was accessible to students. Grammarians, mostly from Alexandria, compiled these studies, and as early as 170 B. C. had begun to quarrel over such questions as that of Homeric unity, with the arguments based upon the style of the two epics. Such a stand implied true literary criticism.

There was a well developed connection between the schools of Alexandria and Athens. They had much in common. Neoplatonic doctrines found places in both universities. Athens was the capital of the literary world, but Alexandria had the Museum and great institutions of the Ptolemies, with wealth, and scholarship, and genius, and a library unique in ancient times. Science was fully at home in Alexandria. The two schools had good reasons for their relationship.[3]

Basil had therefore many excellent opportunities at his command, an exceptionally famous university for his studies, a curriculum decidedly liberal, and teachers like Himerius and Prohairesius, who were of world-wide renown. It is no exaggeration to say that he was very fortunate. But the atmosphere of the university was frankly pagan. Retaining the severely Catholic spirit of provincial Cappadocia, Basil and Gregory kept as clear as they could of surrounding influences, going from their lecture

[3] *Cf.* Jules Simon, Histoire de l'école d'Alexandrie, Tom. 2, Bk. 5, ch. 1.

rooms to their quarters and back as quietly and unobtrusively as possible, and regularly frequenting the churches. Life at the Athenian school, while democratic, throve upon the intensest rivalry among students and professors. Older scholars fell upon newcomers and hustled them away to their favorite rhetoricians. New men went through a variety of rough treatment by way of initiation. General student life showed many of the same peculiarities that it does today in its democratic activities, its genial disregard for city laws, and habits of hazing the freshmen.[4]

Such was the general situation in which Basil placed himself at Athens. He set to work vigorously at his studies. Though rhetorical exaggerations color Libanius' letters to Basil, there is no room to doubt that this last great pagan rhetor had the highest regard for the saint's talents, studies and scholarly development. The correspondence between Libanius and Basil, like their meeting in Constantinople, has come in for a great deal of criticism. The letters are not admitted by some critics to be genuine. Without entering at length into a discussion of this tangled case, it is still possible to point out a few matters of primary importance. Though some think the correspondence false, it has never been proved such. The letters do not condemn themselves by any gross errors or evident contradictions. Tillemont in his "Notes sur S. Basile"[5] argues strongly for the authenticity of the correspondence, urging that the letters have all the possible marks of truth. Bardenhewer, in discussing Basil's correspondence, gives it as von Seeck's opinion that the letters are genuine.[6] In reviewing the sources for Basil's life and writings, J. Schäfer gives the combined opinions in favor of the authenticity of the letters and stands for this view himself.[7]

Though personal friendship may have raised the estimation somewhat, Gregory lauds Basil's diligence and attention to studies during the life at Athens.[8] Too much stress cannot be laid upon the fact that Basil's training in these years was essentially non-Christian. It would not give the correct idea to say that it was essentially pagan. A distinction must be kept clear. The studies originated, the curriculum was arranged, the university life and

[4] *Cf.* Gregory Nazienzen, Oratio in laudem Basilii Magni, ch. 14 and 15.

[5] *Cf.* Tillemont, Notes sur S. Basile, Tom. IX., p. 659, No. 36.

[6] *Cf.* Bardenhewer, Gesch. d. Altkir. Lit., p. 157.

[7] *Cf.* J. Schäfer, Basilius des Grossen Beziehungen zum Abendlande, p. 5.

[8] *Cf.* Gregory Nazienzen, Oratio in laudem Basilii Magni, ch. 21.

tradition were founded in strictly pagan times, but some of the students were now Christians, some of the schedule was made out by Christian teachers, and some of the studies were to a partial extent controlled by the Christians. Still the atmosphere was at best frankly pagan and in these surroundings Basil went through his advanced studies.

In his Speech to the Youths, Basil remarks, in reference to use of pagan authors, "If, therefore, some relationship to each other exists between these literatures, knowledge of them would be helpful to you."[9] Further he remarks, "But that this pagan learning is not unprofitable to the soul is sufficiently explained."[10] The poets, Basil says, are to be read when "they expound for you the words and deeds of good men, and you should love and imitate them and earnestly endeavor to be the same."[11] But he adds instantly, "When they portray impure men it is necessary to avoid such conduct, stopping up your ears no less than Odysseus, as they say, against the songs of the Sirens."[12] Gregory of Nazianzus in his eulogy of Basil dwells admiringly and at length upon Basil's proficiency in his pagan studies and was himself an earnest student with the pagan rhetor Himerius. Gregory of Nyssa pursued courses of similar study and was also a vigorous worker.

In his letters Basil regularly uses terms of endearment, of affectation, of hyperbolical compliment, and in many parts of his discourses exhibits an exaggeration as violent as that of the formal teachers of rhetoric, which profession he indeed followed, as will be seen later. Yet Basil is restraint itself compared with John Chrysostom and some other speakers. In addressing Leontius, the sophist, Basil writes as an apologetic introduction to his letter, "And it is perhaps being lowered by too much participation in common conversation that probably causes the remaining hesitation in engaging in speech with you Sophists."[13] In the same letter Basil says, "You being the ablest speaker of the

[9] 175, B. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐθτί τις οἰκειότης πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς λόγοις, προὔργου ἂν ἡμῖν αὐτῶν ἡ γνῶσις γένοιτο.

[10] 175, C. Ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν οὐκ ἄχρηστον ψυχαῖς μαθήματα τὰ ἔξωθεν δὴ ταῦτα, ἱκανῶς εἴρηται.

[11] 175, C. Ἀλλ' ὅταν μὲν τὰς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν πράξεις ἢ λόγους ὑμῖν διεξίωσιν, ἀγαπᾶν τε καὶ ζηλοῦν, καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα πειρᾶσθαι τοιούτους εἶναι.

[12] 175, D. ὅταν δὲ ἐπὶ μοχθηροὺς ἄνδρας ἔλθωσι τὴν μίμησιν ταύτην δεῖ φεύγειν ἐπιφρασσομένους τὰ ὦτα οὐχ ἧττον ἢ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα φασὶν ἐκεῖνοι τὰ τῶν Σειρήνων μέλη.

[13] Letter 20. καὶ τὸ οἱονεὶ ἐρρυπῶσθαι λοιπὸν τῇ, κατακορεῖ συνηθείᾳ πρὸς ἰδιωτισμὸν ὄκνον εἰκότως ἐμποιεῖ προσφθέγγεσθαι ὑμᾶς τοὺς σοφιστάς.

Greeks, I think that I know the most renowned among you."[14] In setting Leontius above such famous orators of the time as Libanius and Himerius, without even mentioning more famous ones who had gone before, Basil was following the style of conventional sophistic compliment. Writing to Libanius, he begins, "My fear and ignorance dissuade me from writing to you, who are so learned."[15] Libanius had referred to Basil in terms of the most extravagant compliment, saying that fountains of words live upon his lips; that he is Homer, Plato, Aristotle; that (compared with Basil) Demosthenes lived in vain; that he is golden tongued, and similar expressions. Again Basil begins a letter with these words, "Reading your oration, O wisest of men, I am struck with wonder. O Muses, O Learning, O Athens, what gifts do you not give your lovers?"[16] Addressing Libanius at another time, "I am pleased at receiving what you have written me, but to your importunities for an answer to what you have written, I find myself in a quandry. For what can I say to so Attic a tongue, except that I am a pupil of fishermen, and that I admit and take satisfaction in it."[17]

In the right study of Greek literature Basil found the best and purest of Hellenic speech and custom, remarking that "We must attend chiefly to the many passages in the poets, and in the historians, and especially to those passages in the philosophers, in which they praise virtue."[18] It would be of no avail to study the pagan authors if not thoroughly, and of no moral good, if not discriminatingly. Basil was very insistent that his students discriminate intelligently in their studies.

It is worth remarking of Basil that in his many ecclesiastical difficulties, his religious-political struggles with Valens, in the strange disagreement with his ghostly superior Eusebius, all the entangling troubles that followed up the council of Nicea never affected his ready flow of rhetoric nor his admiration for things

[14] Letter 20. ἐπιτήδειον ὄντα εἰπεῖν, ὧν αὐτὸς οἶδα Ἑλλήνων, οἶδα γὰρ ὡς οἶμαι τοὺς ὀνομαστοτάτους τῶν ἐν ὑμῖν.

[15] Letter 344. τὸ μὴ συνεχῶς με γράφειν πρὸς τὴν σὴν παιδευσιν, πειθουσι τό τε δέος καὶ ἡ ἀμαθία.

[16] Letter 353. Ἀνέγνων τὸν λόγον σοφώτατε, καὶ ὑπερτεθαύμακα. Ὦ μοῦσαι, καὶ λόγοι, καὶ Ἀθῆναι, οἷα τοῖς ἐρασταῖς δωρεῖσθε.

[17] Letter 356. Δεχομένοις μὲν ἡμῖν ἃ γράφεις χαρά. ἀπαιτουμένοις, δὲ πρὸς ἃ γράφεις ἀντεπιστέλλειν, ἀγών. τί γὰρ ἂν εἴποιμεν πρὸς οὕτως ἀττικίζουσαν γλῶτταν, πλὴν ὅτι ἁλιέων εἰμὶ μαθητὴς ὁμολογῶ καὶ φιλῶ;

[18] 176, D. εἰς ταύτην δὲ πολλὰ μὲν ποιηταῖς, πολλὰ δὲ συγγραφεῦσι, πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι πλείω φιλοσόφοις ἀνδράσιν ὕμνηται τοῖς τοιούτοις τῶν λόγων μάλιστα προσεκτέον.

Hellenic. Enemies of the saint never attacked him on grounds other than dogmatic, for his reputation was unassailable. The intense admiration felt for him by the natives enabled him to easily eclipse Eusebius.

Basil is not free, though, from being affected with no end in view beyond an impression, and makes such remarks as these: "But now your wealth clings to you closer than the limbs of your body, and separation from it pains you like the amputation of your vital parts."[19] Hinting at the asceticism of Annesi, he says to his wealthy hearers, "What good is your money to you? Would you wrap yourself in costly clothing? But a tunic of two cubits length would be enough for you, and the encircling of one cloak satisfies every need for garments."[20] His auditors had apparently no intention of becoming ascetics. He follows up these statements by attacking the customs of the rich, urging them to sell their substance and give it to the poor, strengthening his argument with figures and paradoxes. "But if you had clothed the naked, if you had been a father to the orphans, if you had had compassion upon the cripple, would you now be grieved by reason of your money?"[21] His previous figure about the keen pain that they would feel at separation from their money contrasts strangely with this remark.

It is evident, then, that Basil's studies at Athens made him a regular product of his age and that he is an excellent instance of the fourth century education in its best form. He developed to the fullest extent that admiration for the classics of the golden age, and that shrewd insight into their merits and defects which he sets forth so ably in his address To the Youths. Even if he had not been noted for the diligence with which he worked at his studies, the wide knowledge of pagan classics which he displayed in his later works, and his appreciation of them, would be a fair evidence of how much time he gave to the efforts of the pagan authors. The success of his literary career indicates that his studies were both well directed and well rewarded. He went into

[19] 52, B. Homilia in Divites. Νυνὶ δὲ προσπέφυκε σοὶ τὰ χρήματα πλέον ἢ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος, καὶ λυπεῖ σε αὐτῶν ὁ χωρισμὸς ὡς ἀκρωτηριασμὸς τῶν καιρίων.

[20] 53, A. Ἀλλὰ τί χρήσῃ τῷ πλούτῳ; Ἐσθῆτι πολυτιμήτῳ περιβαλεῖς σεαυτόν; Οὐκοῦν δύο μὲν σοὶ πηχῶν χιτώνισκος ἀρκέσει, ἑνὸς δὲ ἱματίου περιβολὴ πᾶσαν τῶν ἐνδυμάτων ἐκπληρώσει τὴν χρείαν.

[21] 52, C. Εἰ γὰρ ἀμφίεσας γυμνὸν εἰ ἔδωκας πεινῶντι τὸν ἄρτον σοῦ εἰ ἡ θύρα σοῦ ἀνέῳκτο παντὶ ξένῳ, εἰ ἐγένου πατὴρ ὀρφανῶν, εἰ παντὶ συνέπασχες ἀδυνάτῳ ὑπὲρ ποίων ἂν νῦν ἐλυπήθης χρημάτων;

them very thoroughly, and he teems with proofs of his readings, the evidence growing stronger as the time of the writers grows earlier, till at the golden age he is fairly saturated with the legend, story and literature of Periclean Athens. By their very nature these influences were pagan to the core.

The precise length of time that he spent in Athens is in some doubt. But he probably arrived there in 351 and left in 355 or 356, to return to Cæsarea. He had courses, therefore, during four or five years of apparently continuous residence. Such is at least a fair assumption, as we have no knowledge of journeys elsewhere during this period. This length of time would offer opportunity for a great deal of connected study.

After leaving Athens Basil was active for a time in Caesarea. He began as a professor of rhetoric and was successful enough to draw an invitation from the citizens of Neocæsarea to teach in their town. He was teaching during 357 as a regular rhetor, and laying some of the foundations for his great popularity with the people. It was shortly after this time that he finally severed his connections with the schools and decided upon an ecclesiastical life.

CHAPTER III

THE POETS

It is not an unfair inference to say that the quotations employed and the use that is made of them give a good index to Basil's poetical readings. The manner of citation is significant. The correctness, or lack of it, that is displayed, indicate about how closely Basil knew his authors. It will be seen that Basil regularly takes the indirect method, seldom endeavoring to reproduce exact speech. When he makes the attempt he is frequently wrong.

Taking Basil's poetical allusions and parallelisms in three general fields of dramatic, lyric and epic verse, it will become apparent that Basil's references must give a fair index to his studies in each field.

1. *Dramatic poets.*

Basil names Aeschylus but once. In a letter to Martinianus he says: "Why name Simonides? I would rather mention Aeschylus or any other who has set forth a great calamity in words like his and uttered lamentations with a mighty voice."[1] The remark would indicate a good appreciation of Aeschylus and the crashing style that had made him famous. In the address To the Youths, Basil tells of the quarrels among the pagan gods. Legend told of similar quarrels among human beings in remote times. Basil says, "Among them, brother, excites sedition against brother."[2] As he hints, every sort of misfortune rises from such intra-family dissensions. In Greek legend the classic instance of brothers quarreling was the case of Eteocles and Polyneices, whose feud became the subject of Aeschylus' Seven against Thebes. The same subject was treated by other tragedians whose works have not survived.

[1] Letter 74. Καίτοι τί λέγω Σιμωνίδην; δέον Αἰσχύλον εἰπεῖν ἢ δή τις ἕτερος παραπλησίως ἐκείνῳ συμφορᾶς μέγεθος ἐναργῶς διαθέμενος μεγαλοφώνως ὠδύρατο.

[2] 176, B. Ἀδελφὸς γὰρ δὴ παρ' ἐκείνοις διαστασιάζει πρὸς ἀδελφόν . . .

Basil does not name Aristophanes at all. The very significant remark by Gregory to the effect that the indecencies of the comic poets were banned from Basil's early education is here perhaps supported by actual evidence.[3] The only Aristophanic connection that appears in Basil is the use of some words of a grotesque nature, traceable to Aristophanes, who first used them in a burlesque sense. Nearly eight hundred years had elapsed between the two men, and the use of these scattered expressions shows but a slender thread of evidence, if any. Basil writes in his Liber de Spiritu Sancto, "Therefore, self-appointed scions and place hunters reject the government of the Holy Spirit."[4] Such a place is an odd one for an Aristophanic expression. The word which Basil uses for place hunters also occurs in Aristophanes and seems to have had a comic origin.[5]

The other case is almost equally vague. In the Hexaemeron he speaks of people who are beset by vagaries and are much distracted, noting that their attention wanders, and that they dream of strange and impossible things, and of matters that were before their minds during the previous day, saying that, for instance, some who frequent the races fancy themselves horsemen, and "Not even in their sleep are they freed from their phantasies."[6] The same idea is used in a more compact and neater way by Aristophanes in the Clouds. He speaks of "dreams of horses" and "even in sleeping, dreams of horsemanship."[7]

Basil's reference to Euripides are not very wide, but they are more definite. There are but four, two being from the speech To the Youths, and two from the Letters. The first allusion in the speech is to the famous line in the Hippolytus, "My tongue is sworn indeed, but my heart's unsworn."[8] Basil says in his oration, "But with his tongue indeed he swore, though his mind was unsworn, as Euripides would say."[9] It is interesting to note that the wording of the two statements, though similar, is not quite

[3] *Cf.* Gregory of Nyssa, Life of St. Macrine, ch. 1.

[4] 66, D. τοιγαροῦν αὐτοχειροτόνητοι καὶ σπουδαρχίδαι τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν τὰς προστασίας διαλαγχάνουσι.

[5] Aristophanes, Acharnians, line 595.
ὅστις; πολίτης χρηστός, οὐ σπουδαρχίδης,

[6] 33, B. Καὶ ὅλως τῆς μεθημερινῆς ἀφροσύνης οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς καθ' ὕπνον φαντασίαις ἀφαντιστάνται.

[7] The Clouds, 1, 16, 1, 27. ὀνειροπολεῖ θ' ἵππους . . . ὀνειροπολεῖ γὰρ καὶ καθεύδων ἱππικήν.

[8] Hippolytus, 1, 612. ἡ γλῶσσ' ὀμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος.

[9] 178, A. ἀλλ' ἡ γλῶττα μὲν ὀμώμοκεν, ἡ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος, κατ' Εὐριπίδην ἐρεῖ.

the same, and that Basil by throwing it into indirect speech takes away the requirement of an absolutely correct quotation which direct discourse would have implied.

Again in the same chapter he intimates that, in spite of the Christian precept to bear with oppression, one must defend oneself, citing a line from Euripides to justify the view. "Anger arms the hand against foes."[10]

The wording is sufficiently different to justify a suspicion that Basil misquoted the verse in question. It is noticeable that he names no author for the play, which is attributed with some hesitancy to Euripides.

In a letter Basil finds occasion to mention Euripides by name. "I count the wise man my friend, even if he dwell in a far distant land, even if I have never seen him with my own eyes; this is the opinion of the tragic poet Euripides."[11] Here again Basil names the author of the view which he endorses. The passage that he refers to is from a lost play and is preserved in a fragmentary form. It reads, "But the noble man, even if he dwell in a far land and I have never seen him with my eyes, I count him my friend."[12] The remaining reference is a loose one. In a letter to Martinianus, referring to the condition of the country, he says that "She is torn by daemons, by Maenads, as Pentheus."[13] The best and only complete surviving work upon the fate of Pentheus is Euripides' tragedy of the Bacchae, in which the entire play centers around the rites of Bacchanalian worship, and the death of Pentheus, who, like Orpheus, was torn to pieces by the Bacchantes.

2. *Lyric poets.*

In his homilies upon the Hexaemeron he remarks upon the origin of dew, ascribing it to a moisture mingled with heat and developing from the moon. "A certain imperceptible moisture mixed with heat, which the moon emits when approaching the

[10] Rhesus, 1, 84. ἁπλοῦς ἐπ' ἐχθροῖς μῦθος ὁπλίζειν χέρα. Basil's version is: Ἐπ' ἐχθροὺς θυμὸς ὁπλίζει χεῖρα.

[11] Letter 63. τὸν σοφὸν ἄνδρα κἂν ἑκὰς ναίῃ χθονὸς, κἂν μήποτ' αὐτὸν ὄσσοις προσίδω, κρίνω φίλον. Εὐριπίδου ἐστὶ τοῦ τραγικοῦ λόγος.

[12] *Cf.* Nauck's Tragic Fragments, Euripides, No. 902.

τὸν ἐσθλὸν ἄνδρα κἂν ἑκὰς ναίῃ χθονός,
κἂν μήποτ' ὄσσοις εἰσίδω, κρίνω φίλον.

[13] Letter 74. ὅτι Πενθέως τρόπον Μαινάδες ὄντων τινὲς δαίμονες αὐτὴν διεσπάσαντο.

full, and which penetrates everywhere."[14] The same subject occurs in Alcman, who figuratively describes the dew as the daughter of Zeus and Selene. "Such dew, the daughter of Zeus and Selene, gives nourishment."[15]

The remark about Archilochus is definite. "Shall we emulate the cunning and adroitness of the fox of Archilochus?"[16] In iambic verses Archilochus wrote a fable about the fox and the eagle, only fragments of which have come down to us, and the theme of the original story, as well as any connected idea of the case, is entirely lost.[17]

In the second homily upon the Hexaemeron, Basil refers to Hesperus, the evening star, as the fairest of stars. It may be that he did not have Bion's idea in mind, but the same thought is beautifully put in Bion's Hymn to the Evening Star. Basil writes, "The Evening Star, most beautiful of the stars."[18] Bion writes, "Dear Evening Star, sacred gem of the dark blue Night, as much dimmer than the moon as brighter than the other stars."[19] It is certain that the Evening Star was not a new theme in Basil's time.

He mentions Simonides in terms that imply a keen appreciation. "Assuredly we want some Simonides or like poet to bewail our misfortunes from personal experience."[20] Simonides probably occurred to Basil as a poet particularly fitted to write of mournful affairs, as his elegies were epitaphs of Greeks killed in the Persian wars. In the case of Solon the usage is clear. "No end is manifested for men's wealth, according to Solon, son of

[14] 61, A. διότι ὑγρότητα τινα θερμότητι κεκραμένην ἐπὶ τὸ βάθος φθάνουσαν λεληθότως ἐνίησι.

[15] Alcman, Anthologia Lyrica, 62 (47). οἷα Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔρσα τρέφει καὶ Σελάνας δίας.

[16] 183, D. καὶ τῆς Ἀρχιλόχου ἀλώπεκος τὸ κερδαλέον τε καὶ ποικίλον ζηλώσομεν;

[17] *Cf.* Archilochus, Anthologia Lyrica, fr. 81 (67). αἶνος τις ἀνθρώπων ὅδε, ὡς ἄρ' ἀλώπηξ καἰετὸς ξυνωνίην ἔμειξαν.
The fox is mentioned in another framgent 96 (68).
τῷ δ' ἄρ' ἀλώπηξ κερδαλῆ συνήντετο πῦκνον ἔχουσα νόον.
The fox of Archilochus is also mentioned in Plato's Republic, II., 365.
τὴν δὲ τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ἀρχιλόχου ἀλώπεκα ἑλκτέον
ἐξόπισθεν κερδαλέαν καὶ ποικίλην.

[18] 20, A. καὶ Ἕσπερος ἀστέρων κάλλιστος.

[19] *Cf.* Bucolici Græci. Bion., Hymn to the Evening Star.
Ἕσπερε κυανέας ἱερὸν φίλη Νυκτὸς ἄγαλμα,
τόσσον ἀφαυρότερος μήνας, ὅσον ἔξοχος ἄστρων.

[20] Letter 74. ἢ ὅτι Σιμωνίδου ὄντως, ἤ τινος τοιούτου μελοποιοῦ ἐδεόμεθα, ἐναργῶς εἰδότος ἐπιστενάζειν τοῖς πάθεσι.

Exestides."[21] The exact idea is not reproduced in any surviving fragment of Solon's verse, but there is an approach to it in this: "I do wish, indeed, to have wealth, but I do not wish to get it unjustly."[22] The other verses must have been lost. This is an instance of a very loosely handled quotation. The following verse may be either Solon's or Theognis'. If Plutarch is right it belongs to Solon, for Plutarch states this explicitly and quotes the line.[23] But the same verse without the slightest alteration occurs in the fragments of both authors. Basil quotes from Solon: "It seems to me that Solon was speaking to the rich when he said, 'We, for our part, will not exchange our virtue for money, for virtue always remains the same, but the wealth of men changes hands.' "[24]

The verse in Theognis is the same.[25] Basil quoted this correctly, which is not a common thing with him. The references to Theognis all occur in the speech To the Youths. "And like these are the verses of Theognis, in which he says that God, whatever he means by God, depresses the scales for men, sometimes one way, sometimes another, and makes some men affluent and makes others have nothing."[26] The verses of Theognis are, "For Zeus forces the scales down for one one way, and for another another way, making some rich and others have nothing."[27] Basil gets in the idea skillfully without losing any of the force and without quoting directly. Again, "Theognis, the teacher, must also be followed, he who said, 'I do not love to be wealthy, nor do I desire it. May it be granted to me to live with a little, suffering no

[21] 183, B. κατὰ τὸν Ἐξηκετίδου Σόλωνα, ὃς φησί, πλούτου δ' οὐδὲν τέρμα πεφασμένον ἀνδράσι κεῖται.

[22] Solon, Anthologica Lyrica, fr. 12 (4). χρήματα δ' ἰμείρω μὲν ἔχειν, ἀδίκως δὲ πεπᾶσθαι οὐκ ἐθέλω.

[23] *Cf.* Plutarch, Life of Solon, III.

[24] 177, A. ὅθεν δὴ καὶ Σόλων μοὶ δοκεῖ πρὸς τοὺς εὐπόρους εἰπεῖν τό. Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς οὐ διαμειψόμεθα τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πλοῦτον. ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἔμπεδον αἰεὶ, χρήματα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει.

[25] *Cf.* Solon, Anthologia Lyrica, fr. 14 (6). *Cf.* also Theognis, Anthologia Lyrica, 316, 317, 318.

Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς τούτοις οὐ διαμειψόμεθα τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πλοῦτον, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἔμπεδον αἰεὶ χρήματα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἔχει.

[26] 177, D. Παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὰ Θεόγνιδος, ἐν οἷς φησὶ τὸν θεὸν, ὅντινα δὴ καὶ φησὶ, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ τάλαντον ἐπιρρέπειν ἄλλοτε ἄλλως, ἄλλοτε μὲν πλουτεῖν, ἄλλοτε δὲ μηδὲν ἔχειν.

[27] Theognis, Anthologia Lyrica, 1, 157, 158. Ζεὺς γὰρ τοὶ τὸ τάλαντον ἐπιρρέπει, ἄλλοτε ἄλλως, ἄλλοτε μὲν πλουτεῖν, ἄλλοτε μηδὲν ἔχειν.

evil.'"[28] The verse as quoted is absolutely correct. Later in the same chapter he refers to an instance that Theognis develops at length: "And just as they say, the polypus changes its color according to the ground upon which it lies, so this man will change his mind according to the views of those who are with him."[29]

In his seventh commentary upon the Hexaemeron Basil again remarks the polypus, saying, "I will not pass by in silence the cunning and trickery of the squid, which takes the color of the rock to which it attaches itself."[30] Theognis develops the idea vigorously. "Keep from the rage of the much wreathing polypus which, once twined upon the rock, seems to appear like the rock itself. Now, indeed, it occupies itself with this rock; formerly it was of another color, and the craftiness in its movelessness becomes more evident."[31] It is worthy of note that a contemporary of Basil, the emperor Julian, makes use of the same figure: "You do not approve the word of Theognis, nor mimic the Polypus which suits its color to the rocks."[32] It was perhaps a stock figure for the rhetorical schools.

3. *Epic poets.*

In the opening chapter of his address To the Youths, Basil begins, "Accordingly, if you receive my words with alert intelligence you will have a place beside those who are praised by Hesiod." Then he gives a general paraphrase of the ideas expressed in Hesiod's Works and Days, saying, "He is the best man who perceives by himself the matters in which he is lacking; he also is good who can be persuaded by proof from other people; but the one who is affected by neither is useless to everybody."[33]

[28] 183, B. τῷ δὲ Θεόγνιδι πρὸς ταῦτα διδασκάλῳ χρηστέον λέγοντι. Οὐκ ἔραμαι πλουτεῖν, οὐτ' εὔχομαι, ἀλλά μοι εἴη. Ζὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀλίγων, μηδὲν ἔχοντι κακόν.

[29] 184, B. καὶ ὥσπερ φασὶ τὸν πολύποδα τὴν χρόαν πρὸς τὴν ὑποκειμένην γνώμας μεταβαλεῖται.

[30] 65, C. οὐκ ἂν παρέλθοιμι τὸ τοῦ πολύποδος δολερὸν καὶ ἐπίκλοπον, ὃς ὁποίᾳ ποτ' ἂν ἑκάστοτε πέτρᾳ περιπλακῇ τὴν ἐκείνης ὑπέρχεται χρόαν.

[31] Theognis, Anthologia Lyrica, 1, 215, ff.

πουλύπου ὀργὴν ἴσχε πολυπλόκου, ὃς ποτὶ πέτρῃ, τῇ προσομιλήσῃ, τοῖος ἰδεῖν ἐφάνη. νῦν μὲν τῇ δ' ἔφεπευ τότε δ' ἀλλοῖος χρόα γίνευ, κρέσσων τοὶ σοφίη γίνεται ἀτροπίης.

[32] Julian, Misopogon, 349, D. οὐδ ἐπαινέτης εἶ τοῦ Θεόγνιδος, οὐδὲ μιμῇ τὸν ἀφομοιούμενον ταῖς πέτραις πολύπουν.

[33] 174, A. Εἰ μὲν οὖν προθύμως δέχοισθε τὰ λεγόμενα τῆς δευτέρας τῶν ἐπαινουμένων ἕπεσθε παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ τάξεως . . . Ἄριστον μὲν εἶναι τὸν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ δέοντα ξυνορῶντα. ἐσθλὸν δὲ κακεῖνον τὸν τοῖς παρ' ἑτέρων ὑποδεχθεῖσιν ἑπόμενον. τὸν δὲ πρὸς οὐδέτεραν ἐπιτήδειον ἀχρεῖον εἶναι πρὸς ἅπαντα.

The section which he has paraphrased is: "That man is entirely best who considers all things himself and judges what will be better at a later time and at the end, and that man is good who listens to a good counsellor, but he who does not think for himself and does not remember what another warns him is of no worth."[34]

Basil then uses another instance from the same author: "For the putting of a little to a little, as the poet says, may rightly be thought as spoken not more for the increase of wealth than for the increase of wisdom."[35]

Hesiod is the poet mentioned: "If you add only a little to a little, and do this often, soon will that little become great."[36] Urging thrift upon the youth has always been a favorite device of rhetoricians.

In an effort to exhort the youth to virtue, Basil refers to another Hesiodic verse: "What else can we suppose Hesiod had in mind making those verses that are sung by everyone, if not to exhort the youthful to virtue? That at first the way is difficult and rough and full of toilsome labor and pain and uphill, the road that leads to virtue, and therefore on account of its steepness it is not for everyone to start, nor starting, to reach the summit readily. But, on reaching the top, man sees it as smooth and beautiful, as easy and with good footing, and as more pleasant than the other, the road that leads to vice."[37] The same idea is given in a more concise form by Hesiod: "Long and precipitous is the way to virtue, and rough at first. But when one has reached the summit, he can see it is easy, after having been difficult."[38]

[34] Hesiod, Works and Days, 1, 291, ff. οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος, ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσῃ φρασσάμενος, τὰ κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἐς τέλος ἦσιν ἀμείνω. ἐσθλὸς δ' αὖ κακεῖνος ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται. ὃς δέ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς νοέῃ μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων, ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται ὃδ' αὖτ' ἀχρήιος ἀνήρ.

[35] 184, B. τὸ γὰρ καὶ σμικρὸν ἐπὶ σμικρῷ κατατίθεσθαι οὐ μᾶλλον εἰς ἀργυρίου προσθήκην ἢ καὶ εἰς ἠντιναοῦν ἐπιτήμην ὀρθῶς ἡγεῖσθαι ἔχειν τῷ ποιητῇ προσήκεν.

[36] Works and Days, 1, 359, ff. εἰ γάρ κεν καὶ σμικρὸν ἐπὶ σμικρῷ καταθεῖο καὶ θαμὰ τουτ' ἔρδοις, τάχα κεν μέγα καὶ τὸ γένοιτο.

[37] 176, A. Ἦ τί ποτε ἄλλο διανοηθέντα τὸν Ἡσίοδον ὑπολάβωμεν ταυτὶ ποιῆσαι τὰ ἔπη ἃ πάντες ᾄδουσιν ἢ οὐχὶ προτρέποντα τοὺς νέους ἐπ' ἀρετήν; Ὅτι τραχεῖα μὲν πρῶτον καὶ δύσβατος, καὶ ἱδρῶτος συχνοῦ καὶ πόνου πλήρης, ἡ πρὸς ἀρετὴν φέρουσα, καὶ ἀπάντης ὁδός. Διόπερ οὐ παντὸς οὔτε προβῆναι αὐτῇ διὰ τὸ ὄρθιον, οὔτε νομένῳ ὁρᾷν ὑπάρχει, ὡς μὲν λεία τε καὶ καλὴ ὡς δὲ ῥᾳδία τε καὶ εὔπορος, καὶ τῆς ἑτέρας ἡδίων τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν κακίαν ἀγούσης.

[38] Hesiod, Works and Days, 1, 290 ff. μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον. ἐπὴν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται ῥηιδίη δὴ ἔπειτα πέλει, χαλεπὴ περ ἐοῦσα.

This same passage in Hesiod is quoted in Xenophon's Memorabilia, and as will be seen later, there are good grounds for thinking that the whole section in Xenophon has been taken over by Basil.

Basil's other reference to Hesiod occurs in the Hexaemeron: "The eye that never sleeps sees all."[39] The thought is used by Hesiod thus: "The eye of God, seeing all things and understanding all things."[40]

The references to Homer are more scattered than the other poetic instances. This might indicate that having them better in hand at all times, he referred to them the more readily. Correspondingly it might be inferred that when his references are grouped, in one discourse or passage, that they were more specially prepared for the occasion, or were called to mind by a recent reading, or some similar occurrence.

The case of the Margites is in the speech To the Youths. After saying that Sardanapalus might take a prize for sheer uselessness, he goes on to add, "Or that Margites, if you prefer, whom Homer said neither plowed nor dug the earth, nor performed any other activity in life which would yield a produce, if indeed these things are in Homer."[41] Basil's last remark goes to show that he himself had some doubt of the authenticity of the poem which has since been judged not an Homeric production. Aristotle, in the Poetics, seems to think it certainly Homeric.[42] In as much as it is all lost and but a few fragments survive, it is hard to decide in regard to Basil's use or knowledge of it. The verse that Basil refers to is preserved in the Nichomachean Ethics: "The gods taught him neither to plough nor to dig, nor any other wisdom."[43]

The story of Tithonus occurs in the Homeric Hymns. Eos loved Tithonus and asked from Zeus the gift of immortality for him, but she forgot to ask that of perpetual youth. Later legend assigned different fates to him, but all considered him an example of extreme age. Basil says: "If anyone should offer me

[39] 68, B. πάντα σκοπεύει ὁ ἀκοίμητος Ὀφθαλμός.

[40] Hesiod, Works and Days, 1, 267. πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς Ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντα νοήσας.

[41] 181, C. D. ἢ καὶ ὁ Μαργίτης, εἰ βούλει, ὅν οὔτ' ἀροτῆρα, οὔτε σκαπτῆρα, οὔτε ἄλλο τι τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐπιτηδείων εἶναι Ὅμηρος ἔφησεν, εἰ δὴ Ὁμήρου ταῦτα.

[42] *Cf.* Aristotle, Poetics, 1448, b. 30.

[43] Aristotle, Ethics, VI., 7. τὸν δ' οὔτ' ἄρ' σκαπῆρα θεοὶ θέσαν οὔτ' ἀροτῆρα οὔτ' ἄλλως τι σοφόν.

the age of Tithonus or of Arganthonius."[44] The story of Arganthonius will be seen later in Herodotus, and the tale about Tithonus is explained at considerable length in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite: "Thus also Eos of the golden throne carried away Tithonus, who was of your race and resembled the deathless gods. And she went up to the dark clouded son of Cronos, demanding that he should become deathless and live forever. Zeus nodded his head and granted her desire . . ."[45]

Of the references to the Iliad, four occur in the correspondence, divided among four letters, and two in the Hexaemeron. Each of the four letters in question is to a different man, and in the Hexaemeron each reference represents a different homily. It is noteworthy, too, that in the speech To the Youths, in which Basil is obviously endeavoring to be very literary, there is no reference to the Iliad. The fifteen references to the Odyssey are well scattered. Four are in the speech To the Youths, one in a commentary upon Isaias, the remaining ten are in letters, these letters being addressed to five men. A letter to Aburgius contains four references, one to Eustathius two, and one each appears in letters to Gregory and Martinanus, while the last two are in a letter to Antipater.

In the second homily upon the Hexaemeron, Basil says: "We could likewise say about the heavens that they were as yet imperfect and had not received their natural ornaments, since they were not shining with the brilliancy of the moon and the sun, and were not wreathed with the chòirs of the stars."[46] In describing Hephaistus' work upon the shield of Achilles, Homer says: "On it he wrought the earth, and the heaven and the sea, and the tireless sun, and the moon in full, and upon it also he wrought all of the constellations with which the heavens are wreathed, the Pleiades, the Hyades, and the strength of Orion."[47] The simi-

[44] 184, C. Ἐγὼ δὲ κἂν τὸ Τιθωνοῦ τις γῆρας, κἂν τὸ Ἀργανθωνίου λέγῃ . . .

[45] Homeric Hymns, V., To Aphrodite, 1, 218, ff. Ὣς δ' αὖ Τιθωνὸν χρυσόθρονος ἥρπασεν Ἠώς, ὑμετέρης γενεῆς, ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισι. βῆ δ' ἴμεν αἰτήσουσα κελαινεφέα Κρονίωνα, ἀθάνατον τ' εἶναι καὶ ζώειν ἤματα πάντα. τῇ δε Ζεὺς ἐπένευσε καὶ ἐκρήηνεν ἐέλδωρ.

[46] 12, B. Τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ οὐρανοῦ εἴποιμεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξείργαστο οὔπω οὐδὲ αὐτὸς, οὐδὲ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἀπελήφει κόσμον, ἅτε μήπω σελήνῃ μήτε ἡλίῳ περιλαμπόμενος, μηδὲ τοῖς χοροῖς τῶν ἄστρων καταστεμμένος.

[47] Iliad, XVIII, 483, ff. Ἐν μὲν γαῖαν ἔτευξ', ἐν δ' οὐρανόν, ἐν δὲ θάλασσαν, ἠέλιον τ' ἀκάμαντα σελήνην τε πλήθουσαν, ἐν δὲ τὰ τείρεα πάντα, τά τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται, Πληϊάδας θ' Ὑάδας τε τό τε σθένος Ὠρίωνος.

larity, as in the case of Basil's usual poetical usage, is not closely expressed, but the thought develops from the quotation along easy lines.

Writing to Trajan, Basil says that one of his friends has experienced great misfortunes and has asked him "to make clear to you how an Iliad of woes has fallen upon his head."[48]

In a letter to the clergy of Samosata, Basil draws out a well worded bit of advice upon the subject of strife and internal dissensions among the clergy: "These indeed are small at first and easy to cure, but as time goes on they tower up in contention, and they are likely to end in misfortune such as cannot be alleviated."[49] The figure of the growth and elevation of Strife is personified effectively by Homer: "Strife raises her head, small indeed at first, but then afterward she rears her head to the heavens and stalks over the earth."[50] Later, in a letter to Eusebius, Basil brings out another mark of Homeric recollection: "For I am led to say, as Diomede said, 'Would that you had not supplicated him, since as they say, he is a proud man.' "[51] The words used are Homeric, although taken from different lines. The whole quotation occurs in the ninth book of the Iliad between the lines 698 and 700. The expression "Would that you had not supplicated him" is in line 698, and the rest of the remark, "for he is a proud man," is found in a slightly different order in line 700. The whole verse reads: "Would that you had not supplicated the illustrious son of Peleus, giving him countless gifts, for he was a proud man even before that."[52] This is a case of a quotation practically correct. The words in the second half of the remark are not quite as in our text, but the difference is not more than could be accounted for easily by different readings in the manuscripts that Basil used and the ones that we have.

The flight of cranes was a favorite subject among the older Greek writers, and Homer uses it effectively. Basil says: "It is not possible for me, as in the case of the cranes, to escape from

[48] Letter 148. ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ φανερὰν γενέσθαι σοι τὴν περιστᾶσαν αὐτῷ τῶν κακῶν Ἰλιάδα.

[49] Letter 219. αἳ παρὰ μὲν τὴν πρώτην μικραί εἰσι καὶ εὐθεράπευτοι, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ὑπὸ φιλονεικίας αὐξανόμεναι εἰς ἀνίατον παντελῶς ἐκπίπτειν πεφύκασι.

[50] Iliad, IV., 442, ff. ἥ τ' ὀλίγη μὲν πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει.

[51] Letter 239. Ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Διομήδους ἐπέρχεται λέγειν. Μὴ ὄφελες λίσσεσθαι, διότι φησίν, ἀγήνωρ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνήρ.

[52] Iliad, IX., 698, ff. μὴ ὄφελες λίσσεσθαι ἀμύμονα, Πηλεΐωνα μυρία δῶρα διδούς. ὁ δ' ἀγήνωρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλως.

the discomforts of winter."[53] In the opening lines of the third book of the Iliad, Homer writes that the cries of the Trojans resembled "the clangor of the cranes, fleeing across the heavens from winter and limitless rains, winging their way with clamor to the streams of the Ocean."[54]

The last reference leading up to the Iliad is the use of a rather peculiar Homeric word. In a letter to Libanius the saint says, in referring to some planks, that "They are, according to Homer, 'long-shadowing.' "[55] The word for "long-shadowing" is an odd word and one peculiarly Homeric, the same expression being used by Homer upon fifteen different occasions.[56]

In the speech To the Youths the first reference to the Odyssey occurs in the second section, in which Basil states that when they describe great and good men the poets are to be read, "But when they turn to evil men, we must needs flee such imitation, closing our ears, no less than, as they say, Odysseus did against the songs of the Sirens."[57] The resource employed by Odysseus was to stop up the ears of his companions with melted wax. Odysseus, in relating his adventures to Alcinous, says: "Then I anointed with this (the melted wax) in succession the ears of all my companions."[58] In chapter four Basil cites the adventures of Odysseus among the Pheacians and makes them illustrate several points. He explains that the virtue and reputation of the hero made him respected, even though he appeared shipwrecked, naked and alone, and that finally "he was held in such esteem by the Pheacians that, giving up the ease in which they lived, they all admired and copied after him."[59] Homer tells the story at length. The adventures of Odysseus were known wherever Greeks were known, so that this story could not fail to make an impression.[60]

[53] Letter 193. 'Ημῖν οὐδ' ὅσον ταῖς γεράνοις ὑπάρχει τὰ δυσχερῆ τοῦ χειμῶνος διαφυγεῖν.

[54] Iliad, III., 3, 4, 5. ἠΰτε περ κλαγγῇ γεράνων πέλει οὐρανόθι πρό, αἵ τ'ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον, κλαγγῇ ταί γε πέτονται ἐπ' 'Ωκεανοῖο ῥοάων.

[55] Letter 348. καὶ κατὰ τὸν σὸν Ὅμηρον, δολιχοσκίους.

[56] *Cf.* Iliad, III, 346, and elsewhere.
πρόσθε δ' 'Αλέξανδρος προΐει δολιχοσκίον ἔγχος.

[57] 175, D. ὅταν δὲ ἐπὶ μοχθηροὺς ἄνδρας ἔλθωσι, τὴν μίμησιν ταύτην δεῖ φεύγειν, ἐπιφρασσομένους τὰ ὦτα, οὐχ ἧττον ἢ τὸν 'Οδυσσέα φασὶν ἐκεῖνοι τὰ τῶν Σειρήνων μέλη.

[58] Odyssey, XII., 177. ἐξείης δ' ἑτάροισιν ἐπ' οὔατα πᾶσιν ἄλειψα.

[59] 177, C. ἔπειτα μέντοι καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς Φαίαξι τοσούτου ἄξιον νομισθῆναι, ὥστε, ἀφέντας τὴν τρυφὴν ἣ συνέζων, ἐκεῖνον ἀποβλέπειν καὶ ζηλοῦν ἅπαντας.

[60] *Cf.* Odyssey, Books VI. and VII.

Further, in the same chapter Basil again refers to the activities of the hero, using a verse partly quoted from the Odyssey: "That man alone takes his philosophy literally who acts upon his belief with his fellows, 'such a one breathes; the rest flit about as shadows.' "[61] The line in the Odyssey is, "To him even in death dark Persephone granted reason with which to understand while the rest flit about like shadows."[62] It has reference to the Theban seer Tiresias. The latter part of Basil's statement reproduces part of the Homeric verse. This is another case of Basil's dexterous use of indirect speech, giving him ample opportunity to begin and end as he wishes and to quote as his own need justifies. His final reference in the speech To the Youths is in the eighth chapter, in which he refers to the well known story of Proteus. Telling the youths that a wise man must never swerve from what he considers the right, Basil goes on to say that if he does begin such practice and veers about according to expediency, then "shall we think him any different from that famous Egyptian sophist who became a plant, or a beast, or fire, or water, or all such things?"[63] The case of Proteus is vividly related in the Odyssey: "But at first he turned into a lion, then a serpent, and a leopard, then a huge wild boar. Then he turned into flowing waters, and into a tree, high and leafy . . ."[64]

The story of Proteus was well known in Greek legend, and the idea reappears in many forms. According to the story, Proteus would change his identity, as described, to escape the necessity of answering questions asked of him. Somewhat similar in the idea of changing form was the tale of Achelous and his struggle with Heracles.

In the commentary upon Isaias a single reference to the adventures of Odysseus is brought out in a remark about the Sirens: "Other evidence has given it out that the Sirens were women singing sweet songs."[65] One reference to Odysseus and the

[61] 178, C. ὥς ὅ γε τὴν ἄχρι ῥημάτων παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις φιλοσοφίαν ἔργῳ βεβαιῶν. οἷος πένυται. τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ αἴσσουσι.

[62] Odyssey, X., 494. τῷ καὶ τεθνηῶτι νόον πόρε Περσεφόνεια οἴῳ πεπνῦσθαι. τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ αἴσσουσιν.

[63] 184, A. Ἢ τὸν μὴ οὕτως ἔχοντα τὶ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου σοφιστοῦ φήσομεν ἀπολείπειν ὃς φυτὸν ἐγίγνετο καὶ θηρίον ὁπότε βούλοιτο, καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ πάντα χρήματα;

[64] Odyssey, IV., 455, ff. Ἀλλ' ἤ τοι πρώτιστα λέων γένετ' ἠϋγένειος αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα δράκων καὶ πάρδαλις ἠδὲ μέγας σῦς γίνετο δ' ὑγρὸν ὕδωρ καὶ δένδρεον ὑψιπέτηλον.

[65] 588, D. Σειρῆνας ὁ μὲν ἔξωθεν λόγος παραδέδωκε γυναῖκάς τινας μελωδούσας.

Sirens has already been noted. The story of the Sirens was too well known to be more than a commonplace. Homer's remarks about their singing are brief: "The Sirens beguile him (the traveler) with their sweet sounding song."[66]

In his correspondence Basil's allusions to the Odyssey are easily divided. One occurs in a letter to Martinianus, and it is noticeable that many other literary allusions occur there also. Martinianus was evidently no ordinary correspondent: "Wherefore, I desire to hear you not so much for one year, but throughout my whole life, as Alcinous did Odysseus."[67] The case of Alcinous was a fairly strong instance, too, for Alcinous offered to sit up all night to listen to Odysseus telling about his adventures: "Indeed, I could stay here till bright daylight, so you should tell in the hall about your woes."[68] This was a fair offer and probably occurred to Basil as a well recorded instance of an unusually complimentary proposal.

Another case is in a letter to his brother Gregory, in which he says, describing his retreat in Pontus, that it is comparable "to Calypso's isle, which Homer marvels at most of all for its beauty."[69] The wonders of Calypso's island are mentioned in different places, but probably nowhere more effectively than in these lines: "There even an immortal, coming in, might wonder and, gazing around, delight his heart."[70]

Two references easily connected with the story of Odysseus are found in Basil's first letter: "I passed by the city on the Hellespont, as Odysseus did the songs of the Sirens."[71] Odysseus' escape from the Sirens is described in some thirty-five verses in the Odyssey, which give the details that explain it.[72]

Further in the same letter, after describing his efforts to meet Eustathius and hear his philosophical lectures, Basil says: "Do not these adventures very nearly surpass the fables of the poets con-

[66] Odyssey, XII., 44. ἀλλά τε Σειρῆνες λιγυρῇ θέλγουσιν ἀοιδῇ.

[67] Letter 74. ὥστε οὐκ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν μόνον ὡς ὁ Ἀλκίνοος τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως, ἀλλ' εἰς πάντα μου τὸν βίον εὐξαίμην ἄν σου ἀκούειν.

[68] Odyssey, XI., 375, 376. καί κεν ἐς ἠῶ δῖαν ἀνασχοίμην ὅτε μοὶ σὺ τλαίης ἐν μεγάρῳ τὰ σὰ κήδεα μυθήσασθαι.

[69] Letter 14. καὶ τὴν Καλυψοῦς νῆσον ἣν δὴ πασῶν πλέον Ὅμηρος εἰς κάλλος θαυμάσας φαίνεται.

[70] Odyssey, V., 73, 74, ἔνθα κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἀθάνατός περ ἐπελθὼν θηήσαιτο ἰδὼν καὶ τερφθείη φρεσὶν ἦσιν.

[71] Letter 1. παρέδραμον δὲ τὴν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλιν ὡς οὐδεὶς Ὀδυσσεὺς Σειρήνων μέλη.

[72] *Cf.* Odyssey, XII., 165-200.

cerning Tantalus?"[73] Odysseus, describing his adventures, speaks of Tantalus: "And I saw Tantalus in violent torment, standing in a pool, the water reached up almost to his chin, and he appeared thirsty but could not drink, for whenever the old man stooped forward, being eager to take a drink, the water so often would recede and disappear."[74] Many other poets made the sufferings of Tantalus a subject for their writings.

In a letter to Antipater, Basil remarks: "In future I shall think nothing quite as good as cabbage, not even the lotus of Homer, nor the ambrosia, whatever that may have been."[75] The effects of the lotus upon those members of Odysseus' crew who ate it were described as being destructive to memory: "And whoever ate of the fruit of the lotus, which was sweet as honey, no longer wished to carry away the word or to return."[76] The ambrosia that is mentioned by Basil in the same sentence is described by Homer as the food of the gods: "Speaking thus, the goddess set for him a table laden with ambrosia."[77] After remarking a proverb that cabbage at repeated meals might not be healthy, Basil says: "Now, however, I am forced to change my mind and laugh at the proverb when I see cabbage such a 'good nursing mother of men.'"[78] The expression "good nursing mother of men" is an imitation of a phrase in the Odyssey in which Ithaca, the home of Odysseus, is referred to as "rugged, but a good nurse of hardy men."[79]

The letter to Aburgius contains four references, an unusually large number as most of Basil's references go, for even when writing to a sophist like Libanius, Basil is conservative in the number of literary allusions that he employs.

Referring to the final shipwreck which left Odysseus upon the coast of the Pheacians, Basil says: "He had great wealth, and

[73] Letter 1. ταῦτα οὐχὶ μικροῦ δεῖν, καὶ τοὺς τῶν ποιητῶν ἐπὶ Ταντάλῳ μύθους ὑπερβάλετο;

[74] Odyssey, XI., 583, ff. καὶ μὴν Τάνταλον ἐσεῖδον χαλεπ' ἄλγε', ἔχοντα ἐαταότ' ἐν λίμνῃ. ἡ δὲ προσέπλαζῃ γενείῳ. στεῦτο δὲ διψάων, πιέειν δ' οὐκ εἶχεν ἑλέσθαι. ὁσσάκι γὰρ κύφει ὁ γέρων πιέειν μενεαίνων, τοσσάχ' ὕδωρ ἀπολέσκετ' ἀναβροχέν.

[75] Letter 186. καὶ οὐδὲν εἶναι τοῦ λοιποῦ κατ' αὐτὴν ἡγήσομαι, οὐχ ὅπως τὸν 'Ομηρικὸν λωτὸν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἀμβροσίαν ἐκείνην ἥτις ποτ' ἄρα' ἦν.

[76] Odyssey, IX., 93. τῶν δ' ὅς τις λωτοῖο φάγοι μελιηδέα καρπὸν, οὐκέτ', ἀπαγγεῖλαι πάλιν ἤθελεν οὐδὲ νέεσθαι.

[77] Odyssey, V., 93. ὣς ἄρα φωνήσασα θεὰ παρέθηκε τράπεζαν ἀμβροσίης πλήσασα.

[78] Letter 186. νῦν δέ μοι δοκῶ καὶ ἐμαυτὸν μεταπείσειν καὶ τῆς παρουμίας καταγελάσεσθαι ὁρῶν αὐτὴν οὕτως ἀγαθὴν κουροτρόφον.

[79] Odyssey, IX., 27. τρηχεῖ' ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος.

he returned stripped of everything."[80] The treasures that the Greeks took at Troy were popularly supposed to have been fabulously great, but Odysseus' misfortune among the Laestrygonians and on the Pheacian coast reduced him to complete poverty. Basil says of a friend, Maximus, that he had lost a great deal of property, suggesting that "Perhaps he fell in with some Scylla, who hid a dog's fierceness and fury under a woman's form, or having irritated some Laestrygonians against him, suffered these things."[81] The Laestrygonians had wrecked eleven of Odysseus' ships by hurling huge rocks against them. Being a race of giants, such a feat was in keeping with their physical prowess. The whole story of the Laestrygonian adventure is related at length in the Odyssey.[82] The adventure with Scylla, who was a monster that had formerly been a woman and had been transformed into a figure with six heads and something of a dog's appearance, is also narrated shortly after.[83]

Speaking of Maximus again, Basil says: "This man was governor of no insignificant people, just as Odysseus was chief of the Cephallenians."[84] Later Basil remarks upon the contrast between the Iliad and the Odyssey, saying: "Up till this time I thought Homer was a fable, when I read the other part of his poem in which he tells the story of Odysseus."[85]

The reference to Odysseus being the chief of the Cephallenians occurs in a general way in a verse spoken by one of Odysseus' followers: "Woe for the blameless Odysseus, who put me in charge of his cattle when I was still a boy in the land of the Cephallenians."[86] Homer does not say that Odysseus was chief of the Cephallenians. Basil's remark about thinking the Homeric verses fabulous is a general reference to the wanderings of Odysseus, and a comparison of them with the misfortunes that have befallen his friend Maximus. He says a moment later that the "misfortune that has struck the excellent Maximus has made me

[80] Letter 147. καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἄγων ἐκεῖνος γυμνὸς ἐπανῆλθε.

[81] Letter 147. καὶ ταῦτα πέπονθε Λαιστρυγόνας τάχα ποὺ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν παροξύνας, καὶ Σκύλλη περιπεσὼν ἐν γυναικείᾳ μορφῇ κυνείαν ἐχούσῃ ἀπανθρωπίαν καὶ ἀγριότητα.

[82] *Cf.* Odyssey, X., 80-130.

[83] *Cf.* Odyssey, XII., 225-260.

[84] Letter 147. καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ἄρχων ἐγένετο ἔνθους οὐ φαυλοτάτου, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Κεφαλλήνων.

[85] Letter 147. Μῦθον ἐνόμιζον τεώς τὰ τοῦ 'Ομήρου ὅτε ἐπῆειν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τῆς ποιήσεως, ἐν ᾧ τὰ τοῦ 'Οδυσσέως πάθη μεταδιδάσκει.

[86] Odyssey, XX., 209, ff. ὤ μοι ἔπειτ' 'Οδυσῆος ἀμύμονος ὅς μ' ἐπὶ βουσὶν εἷς ἔτι τυτθὸν ἐόντα Κεφαλλήνων ἐνὶ δήμῳ.

think what I used to regard as fabulous and unbelievable as being quite probable."[87]

To sum up satisfactorily the evidence displayed by Basil's use of the Greek poets is no easy task. Quotations that are identified by the author are easy to handle, but there remains the difficult task of treating those allusions that he does not explain. Most of the sophistical rhetors were extremely imaginative and poetical in their own way, and the use of highly developed figures expressing wildly fanciful thought, frequently in words long associated with poetic usage, results in a diction that will often seem to have a trend such as might have been taken from poetry when in reality no such usage occurs. The vivid imagery and artificial rhythm that occasionally occur in a sophistic writer are no certain evidence that he took his choice of words from any poet, or even that a borrowing of ideas happened.

But Basil makes a few points very clear, and some others if conjectural are at least probable. The number of authors that he names is comparatively limited. He mentions Aeschylus, Euripides twice named, Archilochus, Simonides, Solon, Theognis, Hesiod, and Homer, who is named five times. But all these names represent outstanding figures in Greek literature and are such as would readily occur to a man who wished to emphasize a point with a story or apt quotation.

Basil's use of epic verse is decidedly greater than that of lyric and dramatic together. He has eight references that can be connected with more or less probability with Aeschylus, Aristophanes and Euripides, though in the case of Aristophanes it is necessary to add that the connection is almost negligible. Curiously enough, Sophocles does not appear.

Basil has nine references traceable to lyric sources. In four he cites authors, Archilochus, Solon, Simonides, and Theognis. He has one perhaps belonging to Alcman, one from Archilochus, as he himself says, one perhaps from Bion, one from Simonides, in which that author is named, and one that Basil says is Solon's, and another attributable to Solon and Theognis both, and three certainly from Theognis, in one of which he names that writer.

Basil was more at home among the epic poets. He quotes or alludes to Hesiod four times and to Homer twenty-three times. It is interesting, however, to note that the bulk of the Homeric ref-

[87] Letter 147. Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ μυθικὰ τέως καὶ ἄπιστα πάνυ ἡμᾶς πιθανὰ νομίζειν ἐδίδαξεν ἡ περὶ τὸν πάντα ἄριστον Μάξιμον περιπέτεια.

erences or quotations have to do with the Odyssey, and that as a whole the Iliad is overshadowed. Fifteen references are concerned with the Odyssey and six with the Iliad. One is from the Homeric Hymns. One refers to the Margites, long attributed to Homer. Basil uses Homer's name five times. He names Hesiod but once. The adventures of Odysseus occur to him frequently and he refers to Odysseus, either calling him by name or alluding to him in a significant way, six times. All the instances from Hesiod are from the Works and Days, which being full of sententious utterances and pithy bits of practical wisdom, are especially apt for the use of a glib speaker. Three of the Hesiodic instances are found in a single work, the Speech to the Youths, and the remaining one appears in the Hexaemeron.

He likes to appear well acquainted with the poets, but if in his hurry he could not remember the exact wording of the passage he wanted to quote, it was easy to throw the whole into indirect discourse and tell it as an incident. This Basil generally does. Only twice does he give a correct quotation, but upon seven occasions he gives quotations that are partially correct, or that contain the most noticeable phrasings of the correct verse. He finds it very effective to use the wording of the poet and then say at the end of the sentence, "as Euripides would say," or "as the poet says." If he had gotten the lines right well and good, but if he had failed nothing had been lost. The indirect citation had removed the necessity for absolute accuracy. In the delivery of the practiced orator the indirect narration could be used as effectively as direct, and if his memory failed he would not be under the necessity of having to admit a mistake.

Moreover, as time went on Basil had many cares and distractions, which precluded a continued study of literature. But he still had to meet people and address them, so he was of necessity often compelled to tax his memory for the common places of former days. It is not to be wondered at, then, that with increasing age his grasp upon the intricacies of the literature that had charmed him as a boy gradually relaxed and only those higher points remained with him, which were almost unforgetable. A sympathetic view of the arduous labors that fell to his share and the difficulties that beset his position will go far toward explaining the occasional confusion that appears in his literary reminiscences and allusions.

CHAPTER IV

LEGEND AND HISTORY

Basil seems well acquainted with legendary tales and refers to them with telling effect, proving not only that he had the stories well in hand, but that he had a keen sense of their value. Like any other sophistical rhetor, he is exact when his memory will serve. When it fails he becomes sufficiently vague to escape an imputation of being ill informed upon details, though still sufficiently accurate to present his case with a good front. Most of the references that indicate his legendary information come under three general heads: First, stories about men, places or societies; second, pure folklore; third, ancient customs, habits and manners. The first group may have a foundation in fact; the second is popular fabrication; the third may be either fact or not, according as the custom survived, down to a time when it could be verified.

1. *Legend.* Anecdotes in the lives of famous men, or groups of men, appeal to him. He makes at least four direct references to the Pythagoreans, or their founder, and on four occasions recalls incidents bearing upon Diogenes the Cynic. He likens pleasure to the hydra, and twice finds occasion to refer to the labor of Heracles in killing the monster. He urges self-control both in temper and judgment, and reinforces his argument with two stories about Socrates and how he behaved. He follows up the case with further instances, citing stories about Pericles and Euclid, and remarks a Stoic proverb, or one attributed to the Stoics, and all in favor of moderation or forethought in deed or judgment. The Pythagorean doctrines were widespread and had many admirers, so of course would be readily understood. He cites the Pythagorean Cleinas: "The (case) of Cleinas, one of the disciples of Pythagoras, can hardly be thought to conform to our teachings accidentally and not from deliberate plan."[1] Then he

[1] 179, A. τὸ δὲ τοῦ Κλεινίου τῶν Πυθαγόρου γνωρίμων ἑνὸς, χαλεπὸν πιστεῦσαι ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου συμβῆναι τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀλλ' οὐχὶ μιμησαμένου σπουδῇ.

goes on to tell a story of how Cleinas displayed unusual honesty.

Arguing against elaborate music, he again falls back upon a Pythagorean legend: "It is said that Pythagoras, chancing upon some revelers who were drunk, commanded the flute player, who led the masque, to change the time and play the Doric air for them, and they were so sobered by the music that, throwing down their crowns, they went home."[2] To urge moderation in eating, Basil finds an occasion to use Pythagoras again. A mass of legend surrounds the quasi-altruistic doings and sayings of the philosopher: "And it will be remembered of Pythagoras that, calling one of his familiars from the gymnastics and eating, which were fattening him very much, he said, 'Will you not cease making your imprisonment harder for yourself?'"[3] In order to express a high degree of admiration he says that "The Pythagoreans do not esteem their tetracton so much."[4] The tetracton of the Pythagoreans was their magic number, and many peculiar ideas were prevalent about its powers. Basil's reference would appeal to the people. Fully as famous in Greek story as Pythagoras was the Cynic Diogenes. Many tales were fabricated about his surly answers, curt remarks and democratic ways. Basil used such legend occasionally, and with good effect: "And I admire likewise the contempt for all human beings of Diogenes, who proved himself richer than the great King, since he needed less to live than the other."[5]

The wealth of the Persian king was long a subject for wonder and speculation among the Greeks. Parallel with the above idea, Basil brings out a similar view expressed in a different way. Writing to Olympius and discussing his own voluntary poverty, the saint makes comparisons between his state and that of various famous characters who conducted themselves well in straightened circumstances. He says of himself that "He never ceased admir-

[2] 182, D. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόραν κωμασταῖς περιτυχόντα μεθύουσι, κελεῦσαι τὸν αὐλήτην τὸν τοῦ κώμου κατάρχοντα μεταβαλόντα τὴν ἁρμονίαν ἐπαυλῆσαι σφίσι τὸ Δώριον. τοὺς δὲ οὕτως ἀναφρονῆσαι ὑπὸ τοὺς μέλους ὥστε τοὺς στεφάνους ῥίψαντας αἰσχυνομένους ἐπανέλθειν.

[3] 182, C. καὶ τοῦ Πυθαγόρου μεμνῆσθαι ὃς τῶν συνόντων τινὰ καταμαθὼν γυμνασίοις τε καὶ σιτίοις ἑαυτὸν εὖ μάλα κατασαρκοῦντα, οὕτως ἔφη. Οὐ παύσῃ χαλεπώτερον σεαυτῷ κατασκευάζων τὸ δεσμοτήριον;

[4] Letter 21. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ Πυθαγόριοι τοσοῦτον προετίμησαν τὴν τετρακτύν.

[5] 183, B. Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ Διογένους ἄγαμαι τὴν πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ὑπεροψίαν ὅς γε καὶ βασιλεῖς τοῦ μεγάλου ἑαυτὸν ἀπέφηνε πλουσιώτερον τῷ ἐλαττόνων ἢ ἐκεῖνος κατὰ τὸν βίον προδεῖσθαι.

ing Diogenes, who was content to get along with only the things of nature."[6]

A vast number of stories were told of Diogenes' rough ways of living—that he made his quarters in a tub, and so on. Most of these tales were late inventions. A man who lived so hardily would naturally have slight care for the niceties of external appearances, and thus Diogenes again furnishes material for an allusion: "According to Diogenes' theory, to busy oneself with the hair or clothes more than is necessary is the act of an unfortunate or of an unjust person."[7] Diogenes would naturally consider persons who expended upon such concerns the time needed for more important matters to be highly unjust, or unfortunate, probably putting a hint of mental deficiency in the epithet "unfortunate."

But the summing up of Diogenes' contempt for worldly greatness lay in his behavior with Alexander the Great. This monarch represented to the Greeks the pinnacle of earthly prosperity, and to treat such a man with scant regard was awe inspiring. In his letter to Maximus, the philosopher, Basil touches upon the famous reply that Diogenes was said to have made to Alexander when the king invited the philosopher to pay him a visit. Basil says: "Do not give me the answer of Diogenes to Alexander, 'It is as far from you to me as from me to you.' "[8] Diogenes Laertius records the equally famous tale of how Diogenes the Cynic told Alexander to stand out of his sunlight. This disregard for greatness became proverbial.

Still more famous in Greek legend and impossible to locate with any degree of accuracy is the character of Heracles. His toils for the benefit of early Hellas, and especially his twelve labors, were themes for many writers. Basil enlarges upon the many forms of pleasure and the efforts of moderate people to restrain these by comparing them to the many headed hydra, and Heracles' attempts to kill it by cutting off the heads: "The wise men of Greece give us to understand the many forms of pleasure, and the contest against this, the pleasure generated from the body, by a fabulous figure, the hydra, a many headed serpent lying torpid

[6] Letter 4. τὸν δὲ Διογένην οὐδὲ ἐπαύσατο πότε θαυμάζων τοῖς παρὰ φύσεως μόνοις ἀρκεῖσθαι φιλοτιμούμενον.

[7] 181, B. κουρὰς δὲ καὶ ἀμπεχόνας ἔξω τῶν ἀναγκαίων περιεργάζεσθαι ἢ δυστυχούντων ἐστὶ, κατὰ τὸν Διογένους λόγον, ἢ ἀδικούντων.

[8] Letter 9. ὅπως οὖν μὴ τὸ τοῦ Διογένους πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν εἴπῃς ὅτι ἴσον ἐστὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τὸ δεῦρο καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐνθένδε.

in a swamp for physiological reasons. And the head of this animal, struck off at one blow, gave forth a triple head born from the one. However, being recut with caustic, once for all they wisely show it straightway separated from the body."[9] He returns to the idea of the hydra later, saying of a certain woman that she "inhabits a home more savage than that of the many headed hydra."[10]

He mentions Socrates in an argument for keeping one's temper under provocation, telling the following: "A certain person once struck Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus, in the face, continually repeating this, but Socrates did not strike back, but permitted the enraged man to exhaust his anger."[11] He remembers a similar case in the lives of Pericles and Euclid: "Like this was the deed of Pericles and Euclid,"[12] and says of Euclid again that "Once a certain person, enraged at Euclid the Megarian, swore death to him, but Euclid in turn swore that the man should surely be satisfied and so cease from hostility to him."[13] Plutarch tells the story of Pericles, but makes no mention of Euclid. The latter was a pupil of Socrates and seems to have figured in the Socratic legend. Stories about Socrates were legion. To show forethought, Basil calls up another Socratic story: "It was renowned of Socrates that he said he would never admire very greatly a wealthy man, proud by reason of his wealth, before he could declare him from experience of the thing to know how to use it."[14]

Considering circumstances philosophically when writing to Eustathius, he cites a proverb attributed to the Stoics: "Thus runs the Stoic proverb, 'Since things do not happen as we prefer,

[9] 680, C. καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γὰρ οἱ σοφοὶ τό τε πολυειδὲς τῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοῦτο μάχην ἡμῖν διὰ μυθικοῦ πλάσματος αἰνιττόμενοι, ὕδραν τὴν γενικὴν ἐν τῷ σώματι ἡδονὴν, ἕρπον τι πολύμορφον, ἐν ἕλει φωλεῦον φυσιολογοῦντες ἀνέπλασαν. καὶ ταύτης τὴν μὲν ἁπλῶς τερνομένην κεφαλὴν τριπλασίονας ἀντὶ τῆς μιᾶς ἐκφύειν παρέδοσαν. τὴν δὲ καυτῆρι τερνομένην ἀναιρεῖσθαι καθάπαξ φιλοσόφως ὑπέδειξαν.

[10] Letter 315. καὶ οἰκίαν οἰκούσῃ ὕδρας τινὸς πολυκεφάλου χαλεπωτέραν.

[11] 179, C. Ἔτυπτέ τις τὸν Σωφρονίσκου Σωκράτην εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐμπεσὼν ἀφειδῶς. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀντῆρειν ἀλλὰ παρεῖχε τῷ παροινοῦν τι τῆς ὀργῆς ἐμφορεῖσθαι.

[12] 179, D. τὸ δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους ἢ τὸ Εὐκλείδου τῷ τοὺς διώκοντας ὑπομένειν.

[13] 179, B. Πάλιν τὶς Εὐκλείδῃ τῷ Μεγαρόθεν παροξυνθεὶς θάνατον ἠπείλησε καὶ ἐπώμοσεν. ὁ δὲ ἀντώμοσεν ἢ μὴν ἱλεώσασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ παύσειν χαλεπῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχοντα.

[14] 183, C. τὸ γὰρ τοῦ Σωκράτους εὖ ἔχει. ὃς μέγα φρονοῦντος πλουσίου ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς χρήμασι, οὐ πρότερον αὐτὸν θαυμάσειν ἔφη, πρὶν ἂν καὶ ὅτι κεχρῆσθαι τούτοις ἐπίσταται πειραθῆναι.

we prefer what happens.' "[15] Basil is free in his use of proverbs, or aphorisms. Most of these are very varied in meaning, according to the varying situations that call them forth. Writing to Maximus, the philosopher, he says, "I have learned from your letters, as they say, to know a lion from his claws."[16] The idea is a very old one, but is perhaps traceable to the sculptor Phidias, who is said to have been capable of judging from the claw of a lion how to model correctly the rest of the animal's form.[17] On a par with this keen observation is the idea that Basil expresses in the following: "I have learned Thee from observing myself, and observing myself, I have known Thy infinite wisdom."[18] Credit for this idea is ascribed to many philosophers such as Thales, Chilo, Cleobulus, Bias, Pythagoras and Socrates. It was doubtless a common idea of the philosophical schools and perhaps related to the famous saying, "Know thyself." In the speech To the Youths, Basil urges activity in seizing opportunities, reinforcing his words with two well placed sayings, "But we to whom rewards are proposed, so marvelous on account of their number and greatness that they cannot be set forth in words, if we 'sleep upon both ears' and if we live loosely, will this reward be given 'to grasp with one hand.' "[19] The expressions "to sleep upon both ears" and "to grasp with one hand" were common ones, indicative of dilatoriness and sluggish behavior in the face of opportunity. Continuing the argument for greater activity, he says: "I advise you to leave no stone unturned, as the proverb has it, working hard to prepare a viaticum that you may have for all time."[20]

He uses other stray proverbs in various ways. Urging young men to examine their study in order to make it accord with their purpose in life, he recommends them to do it, "testing each stone with the measuring line."[21] This is a Doric proverb, cited also

[15] Letter 151. ὁ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Στοϊκοῦ λόγος. Ἐπειδὴ φησὶ μὴ γίνεται τὰ πράγματα ὡς βουλόμεθα ὡς γίνεται βουλόμεθα.

[16] Letter 9. κατεμάθομεν οὖν σε διὰ τοῦ γράμματος ὅσον φασίν, ἐξ ὀνύχων τὸν λέοντα.

[17] *Cf.* Lucian, Hermotimus, 54.

[18] 87, C. Ἐθαυμαστώθη ἡ γνῶσις σοῦ ἐξ ἐμοῦ. τουτέστιν ἐμαυτὸν καταμαθὼν τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τῆς ἐν σοὶ σοφίας ἐξεδιδάχθην.

[19] 180, C. Ἡμῖν δὲ οἷς ἄθλα τοῦ βίου πρόκειται οὕτω θαυμαστὰ πλήθει τε καὶ μεγέθει ὥστε ἀδύνατα εἶναι ῥηθῆναι λόγῳ ἐπ' ἄμφω καθεύδουσι καὶ κατὰ πολλὴν διαιτωμένοις ἄδειαν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ λαβεῖν τῶν χειρῶν ὑπάρξει.

[20] 184, D. Πρὸς ὅνπερ κτᾶσθαι παραινέσαιμ' ἂν τὰ ἐφόδια πάντα λίθον κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν κινοῦντας.

[21] 176, D. τὸν λίθον ποτὶ τὰν σπάρτον ἄγοντας.

by Gregory Nazienzen (Letter 38) and by John Chrysostom (Homily 25).

In a letter to Censitorus, Basil makes use of an expression traceable perhaps to Aristotle: "Remembering the author of the wise saying, 'A friend is another self.' "[22] The idea is generally expressed in the Eighth Book of the Nichomachean Ethics. In a letter to Antipater, Basil refers to his own poor health and his inability to derive help from medical treatment, saying that he has been "not heeding the proverb which says, 'Warmth is of no good to the dead.' "[23]

Writing to Timotheus and referring to the uselessness of reminding him about the scriptures, as he knew them quite well himself, Basil says: "To recite to you the evidence of the Holy Writ would be as ridiculous, as they say, as "to carry owls to Athens.' "[24] How this proverb originated is hard to say. Athens was devoted to Athena, whose symbol was an owl, and the owl was stamped upon Athenian coins. Aristophanes in the Birds gives the idea very generally expressed. It was like "carrying coals to Newcastle."

It will be evident that Basil, while not using such sayings very frequently, knew how to employ them with good effect. In public addresses, or in a letter where a bit of friendly advice is offered, such ideas come to the front. Elsewhere he is not much in favor of their employment.

Games and athletic contests were dear to the Greek mind, and references to them were effective. The rage for such exhibitions and public shows is too well known to require comment. Basil makes six direct references to the games, and there are throughout his writings unmistakable traces of perfect familiarity with such affairs. In other places obscure remarks might be construed as having a bearing upon the same theme. Urging the need of spiritual exercises, he says to his hearers: "Toil is fitting for athletes."[25] Throughout his works he finds many occasions to tell his auditors that a similarity exists between the physical labors of life and its contests, and the spiritual struggles of those who

[22] Letter 83. καὶ μεμνημένος τοῦ σοφῶς εἰπόντος ἄλλον ἑαυτὸν εἶναι τὸν φίλον.

[23] Letter 137. μηδὲ τῆς παροιμίας ἀκούων τῆς οὐδὲν ἀπὸ θερμῶν ὄφελος εἶναι τοῖς τεθνηκόσι λεγούσης.

[24] Letter 291. τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Γραφῶν σοι διηγεῖσθαι οὐχ ἧττον ἐστὶ καταγέλαστον ἢ γλαῦκα φησὶν Ἀθηναίοις ἄγειν.

[25] Hom. in Ps. Prima., sec. 4 (93, A). ἐνεργήματι ἐστὶν ἀθληταῖς πρέποντα.

would gain salvation. He puts the thought clearly in a letter, saying, "Just as athletes win crowns in the arena, so Christians are brought to perfection by the trials of their temptations."[26] These references to the great games of Greece had good effect.[27] Writing to Libanius, Basil mentions by name Polydamas, an athlete of Scotussa, and Milo, a famous athlete of Crotona. Pausanias tells about Polydamas,[28] but Basil's letter offers no information except the common conception of his great strength. In another letter Basil reminds a friend that "great crowns seem laid aside for an athlete of long endurance,"[29] and further in the same letter calls Job a great athlete, evidently because of his patience. Basil likes to expatiate upon the patient endurance of athletes and their steadiness under hardship, and likes to touch upon the technical points in games, perhaps to show his familiarity with them. In the Liber de Spiritu Sancto he remarks that before one begins a new life he should endeavor to put a proper end to what is past, "as in the case of sprinters who turn and take the second course, a kind of pause intervenes between the opposite motions."[30] Basil's idea about the runners was particularly apt, for the race track was narrow and elliptical in shape, and it was only with a great effort and with an almost complete loss of motion that the sprinter, after reaching the end, circled the post and started back. For a moment after checking himself and before he got started upon his return, he would be almost motionless. Basil finds occasion to enlarge upon the customs prevailing at games, saying that it behooves spectators to be themselves somewhat athletic: "One should learn from this, the laws of the show, that all who collect at the stadium should sit with their heads uncovered. This, it seems to me, was not only for the sake of the view of the contests, but also that each one should be in a measure an athlete himself."[31] Greek games

[26] Letter 101. ὡς γὰρ τοὺς ἀθλητὰς οἱ τῶν ἀγώνων κάματοι τοῖς στεφάνοις προσάγουσιν οὕτω καὶ τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ἡ ἐν τοῖς πειρασμοῖς δοκιμασία πρὸς τὴν τελείωσιν ἄγει.

[27] On this eagerness of the Greeks for athletic contests *cf* Herodotus VIII., 26. Xenophanes (fr. 19) comments ironically upon the importance attached to the athletic events of a city.

[28] *Cf.* Pausanias, VI., 5.

[29] Letter 5. καὶ ὅτι τῆς μεγάλης ὑπομονῆς μεγάλοι παρὰ τῷ ἀθλοθέτῃ στέφανοι δόξης ἀπόκεινται.

[30] 29, A. ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν τὸν δίαυλον ἀνακαμπτόντων στάσις τις καὶ ἐπηρέμησις τὰς ἐναντίας κινήσεις διαλαμβάνει.

[31] 50, B. καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν πανηγυρικῶν θεσμῶν ἄν τις κατίδοι, οἱ τοὺς συγκαθεζομένους εἰς τὸ στάδιον γυμνῇ καθῆσθαι τῇ κεφαλῇ διαγορεύουσιν. ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἵνα μὴ θεατὴς μόνον ἀγωνιστῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγωνιστὴς ἕκαστος αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ μέρει τυγχάνῃ.

were extremely open air affairs, and the lack of any large covering frequently compelled all to submit to the strong sunlight.

Basil would naturally be very ill disposed to the pagan oracles and the many trickeries that they practiced, but he finds occasion to refer to them as his discourse requires. This, however, is not very frequently. In the course of a wild flight of rhetoric he mentions Delphi and one of the other famous places in Castaly: "No longer is there a Delphi, no longer oracles, and the seeress has become silent; the Castalian fount may be drunk, but the drinkers retain their senses. Amphiaraus is an exile, Amphilochus is nowhere found, and the statues of false gods are not shown."[32] The Greek mind was affected by at least an outward reverence for Delphi, so famous in their legend and surrounded by so many stories of Apollo's doings and responses. The Castalian spring has evidently something of a fascination for the rhetoricians, for it affords opportunity to display some uncontrollable flights of fancy. The spring itself was a fountain in Thessaly, long considered by the Greeks a witch-haunted land. Sometime in the past the Muses had drunk there. Later witches frequented it. Hecate, who presided over crossroads where murderers had been buried and lonely places, was its guardian. Those drinking its water fell into a frenzy, inspired by the powers that presided over it. Such a body of legend would allow a popular speaker opportunity for a wild display of imagination. The only other instance in Basil's text of a reference to oracular or pagan rite beliefs is a remark about the customs of the Corybantes and of people who went insane by reason of the Bacchic frenzy: "Others, according to the custom of the Corybantes, went mad at the flute playing and became bacchic."[33] This theme is discussed in many parts of Greek mythology and is seen in many late variations. Euripides' Bacchae pictures the rites. A great mass of legend grew up around the ritual.

In his remark above about Delphi, Basil mentioned also two characters famous in the saga of the time, Amphiaraus and Amphilochus. Amphiaraus was a noted figure in Greek legend. He was one of the Seven against Thebes and, fleeing after the fight, was swallowed up by the earth. His son Amphilochus was almost equally noted and was supposed to have founded many

[32] 446, A. οὐκέτι Δελφοί, οὐκέτι τὰ χρηστήρια, καὶ σιωπᾷ μὲν ἡ πρόμαντις πίνεται δὲ ἡ Κασταλία, καὶ σωφρονοῦσιν οἱ πίνοντες. φυγὰς ὁ Ἀμφιάραος. ὁ Ἀφίλοχος οὐδαμοῦ, καὶ τὰ ἀφιδρύματα ἐξηφάνισται.

[33] 182, A. Ἕτεροι δὲ πρὸς αὐλὸν κορυβαντιῶσι καὶ ἐκβακχεύονται.

cities. Herodotus mentions two men of the same names, though they came much later than the period of the Theban legend.[34]

As might be expected, Basil does not neglect the famous story of Daedalus and Icarus, working in his allusion neatly in a letter to Libanius: "If the art of Daedalus had only been safe, I would have made Icarus' wings for myself and come to you. But wax cannot be trusted to the sun, so instead of Icarus' wings I send you words to prove my affection."[35]

He does not omit the well known tale of Marsyas, the satyr, and his musical competition with Apollo. Speaking of athletes and urging his hearers not to go out of their fields, he says: "If they had meddled with the airs of Marsyas . . . would they have won the laurels or crowns?"[36] Marsyas had not only failed but had been flayed by Apollo for his presumption. Basil's advice to his hearers to stay in their own departments was certainly reinforced by a pointed example. Further on he mentions Timotheus, long famous in Greek story as an expert flute player. According to common belief Timotheus, figuring in Alexander's campaign against Darius, affected Alexander's spirits by the power of his music. Though all the Greeks liked athletics, Basil notes that the musicians did not overdo them, but concentrated upon his music: "On the other hand, Timotheus did not continue in the palestra, neglecting his song."[37] There are many stories told of Timotheus, most of which are late inventions.

Among the characters of the older legend the daughters of Danaus were well known. For the murder of their husbands they were condemned by the gods to fill sieves with water, carrying it from a spring. Later they became symbolical of never ending labor. Later still they personified the rainy sky. Basil speaks of "bearing water in a sieve, pouring it into a perforated jar, having no end of labor."[38] The toils of the Danaids were proverbial.

[34] *Cf.* Herodotus, III., 91.

[35] Letter 359. Ἐγὼ δὲ εἴπερ ἦν ἀσφαλὲς ἡ τοῦ διδασκάλου τέχνη, ἦλθον ἂν παρὰ σοί, ποιησόμενος Ἰκάρου πτερόν. Ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἔστιν πιστεῦσαι ἡλίῳ κηρὸν, ἀντὶ τῶν Ἰκάρου πτερῶν ἐπιστέλλω σοι λόγους δεικνύντας τὴν ἡμετέραν φιλίαν.

[36] 180, A. Εἰ δὲ τὰ Μαρσύου . . . περιεργάζοντο κρούματα . . . ταχύ γ' ἂν στεφάνων ἢ δόξης ἔτυχον . . .

[37] 180, A. Ἀλλ' οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ὁ Τιμόθευς τὴν μελωδίαν ἀφεὶς ἐν ταῖς παλαίστραις διῆγεν.

[38] 181, B. Καὶ κοσκίνῳ φέροντες ὕδωρ καὶ εἰς τετρημένον ἀντλοῦντες πίθον οὐδὲν πέρας τῶν πόνων ἔχοντες.

In contrast with such exertions are the easy lives of such people as Sardanapalus. He was considered in fable as a jovial character who kept a standing reward for anyone who could invent a new pleasure. The saint cites him as an example of inertia. If worthlessness were to be cultivated, "then sluggishness would be praiseworthy in this life, and Sardanapalus, that famous man, would be esteemed the most happy of all."[39]

Basil uses the wealth of Hymetius as an instance of extreme riches, saying in a letter to Sophronius, "How could I place the wealth of Hymetius before one prodigal of his property, as you are."[40] In different sources the name is given as Hymintius.

Basil, however, is never at a loss to mention famous characters. He cites Polycleitus and Phidias, the sculptors, in contemning pride: "Phidias and Polycleitus, if they had extolled themselves by reason of the gold and ivory, of which one made the Elean Jove and the other the Argive Juno, would have been laughed at, because abandoning their art, by which very thing they had made the gold more beautiful and precious, they had taken glory from an alien source."[41]

Basil frequently uses such generalized references as the following: "O Muses! O Learning! O Athens! What do you not give to those who love you?"[42] He is in the midst of a violent outburst of praise for the style of Libanius. In another letter addressed to Libanius he comments upon the large groves that grew by the sacred river Alpheus, remarking that, though many rafters had been cut there, that more trees will soon grow, because "the sacred Alpheus has promised to restore them."[43] The marvelous nature of the sacred river and its life-giving qualities were long celebrated in song and story.

In his commentary upon Isaias, Basil finds occasion to make use of many ancient references, and in one book manages to devote an entire chapter to an attack upon the customs of pagan banquets.[44] The fashions that prevailed in the banquets of

[39] 181, C. Πολλοῦ μὲν τ' ἂν ἄξιον, ἦν ἡ ῥᾳθυμία τῷ βίῳ καὶ ὅ γε Σαρδαναπάλυς τὰ πρῶτα πάντων εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν ἐφέρετο.

[40] Letter 272. Πῶς δὲ τὴν Ὑμητίου εὐπορίαν προτιμοτέραν ἐτιθέμην τῆς σῆς οἰκειώσεως ἀνδρὸς οὕτω δαπανῶντος τὴν οὐσίαν;

[41] 183, C. Ἡ Φειδίας μὲν καὶ Πολύκλειτος εἰ τῷ χρυσίῳ μέγα ἐφρόνουν καὶ τῷ ἐλέφαντι ᾧν ὁ μὲν Ἠλείοις τὸν Δία, ὁ δὲ τὴν Ἥραν Ἀργείοις ἐποιησάτην καταγελάστῳ ἂν ἤστην ἀλλοτρίῳ πλούτῳ καλλωπιζόμενοι ἀφέντες τὴν τέχνην, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ ὁ χρύσος ἡδίων καὶ τιμιώτερος ἀπεδείχθη.

[42] Letter 353. ὦ Μοῦσαι, καὶ Λόγοι, καὶ Ἀθῆναι, οἷα τοῖς ἐρασταῖς δωρεῖσθε!

[43] Letter 348. Οὓς ὁ ἱερὸς Ἀλφαῖος ἀποκαταστήσειν κατεπηγγείλατο.

[44] *Cf.* 491, A-B-C.

Xenophon and Plato had given place to the greatest luxury, and though Basil may have had examples of elder times in mind, it is more than probable that later dates or his own time furnished him with the theme which he attacks.

In a letter to Diodorus, Basil touches upon an idea widespread in antiquity and in places proverbial, the hatred of a stepmother for children of a former marriage: "Only the race of stepmothers extends hatred beyond death."[45] Many stories are told on this theme, and Euripides and Menander use it with effect in their plays.

The next division of these loose references is the group that falls into the province of folklore and popular belief. The Greeks left very few of their notions unaccounted for and nearly always had a definite locality to which they could attach their stories. A belief that was very widespread was that of the baleful influence of the moon. This was common to many of the ancients.

σεληνιάσμος was a common expression for epilepsy. Basil writes, "Observe how those who sleep under the moon feel abundant moisture filling their heads."[46] Some of the ideas about the sinister influence of the moon were late and owed part of their origin perhaps to confusion in the worships of Hecate and Selene. Hecate frequently appeared as the ill-omened deity worshiped in the dark of the moon, and in contrast to Selene, who represented the moon in its brighter and better aspects.

Basil makes two references to Aesop and his Fables. Both are in letters, in which one would naturally expect him to be somewhat reminiscent. The first is in a letter to Eustathius, in which the saint says: "Taking the unforeseen attitude of hate toward me, my opponents appear to renew the old story in Aesop. For he has a wolf bring an accusation against a lamb, being ashamed to seem to kill an animal that had not injured him, unless with some plausible reason. When the lamb refuted the lie the wolf continued the attack and, being worsted in doing the right, came off better in biting."[47]

[45] Letter 160. Μόνον γὰρ τὸ γένος τῶν μητρυιῶν καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἐλαύνει τὴν ἔχθραν.

[46] 61, B. Δηλοῦσι δὲ οἱ καθεύδοντες ὑπὸ σελήνην ὑγρότητος περισσῆς τὰς τῆς κεφαλῆς εὐρυχωρίας πληρούμενοι.

[47] Letter 189, sec. 2. Ἔδοξαν οὖν μοι παραπλήσιόν τι ποιεῖν τῷ Αἰσωπείῳ μύθῳ οἱ τὸ ἀπροφάσιστον καθ' ἡμῶν ἀναλαβόντες μῖσος. ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐγκλήματά τινα τῷ ἀρνίῳ τὸν λύκον προφέρειν ἐποίησεν αἰσχυνόμενον δῆθεν τὸ δοκεῖν ἄνευ δικαίας προφάσεως ἀναιρεῖν τὸν μηδὲν προλυπήσαντα. τοῦ δὲ ἀρνὸς πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκ συκοφαντίας ἐπαγομένην αἰτίαν εὐχερῶς διαλύοντος μηδὲν μᾶλλον ὑφίεσθαι τῆς ὁρμῆς τὸν λύκον ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν δικαίοις ἡττᾶσθαι τοῖς δὲ ὀδοῦσι νικᾶν.

Another reference almost as effective and equally cant is a remark in a letter to a writer: "Avoid making your pen go slantwise like Aesop's crab."[48] The story of the wolf who wished to kill the sheep and sought a pretext, but being unable to find one killed him anyhow, and the remark attributed to the crab, who told his mother, when she reproached him for walking slantwise, that he would walk straight when she showed him how, were well known and would have required no comment. Basil could have been sure that anyone would understand.

In dealing with the customs of different nations, Basil gives some predominance to the Spartans, though this is perhaps accounted for on the ground that the Spartans had a wide reputation for habits and manners conducive to discipline and training. In a letter to Gregory he hints at the Lacedæmonian brevity of speech in this remark: "Certainly there is no trouble in writing the Laconian letters that continually reach us from you."[49] He notes this idea of very curt conversational habits in a letter to Olympius: "Therefore, return to your former habit and do not make me complain of your Laconic ways."[50] The Spartan brevity of speech afforded theme for a vast deal of comment from the rest of the Greeks, who were by no means so reticent.

Referring to the light clothing worn by the Spartan women because of their many exercises, Basil finds occasion to mention that the garments were transparent, calling them "garments that are for the home and transparent Laconian garments." In the same paragraph he says: "Thus are imitated the clothes of Laconian women who eschewed being plainly naked as an unseemly thing, but cast on a linen garment wound around them very thinly."[51] The saint seems displeased with women of his own times who affected the Laconian transparent style without the Laconian excuse of exercising.

His only other reference to a Spartan custom is a mention of the Spartan skytale. In a letter to Candidianus he makes his

[48] Letter 334. Μὴ δὲ βιάζου τὸν κάλαμον λοξὰ βαδίζειν ὥσπερ τὸν παρ' Αἰσώπῳ καρκίνον.

[49] Letter 19. Πάντως δὲ οὐδεὶς πόνος Λακωνικῆς ἐπιστολῆς ὁποῖαι εἰσὶν αἱ παρὰ σοῦ ἑκάστοτε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφικνούμεναι.

[50] Letter 12. Ἐπάνελθε τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔθος ὡς οὐκ ἔτι σοι μεμψόμεθα Λακωνίζοντι πρὸς ἡμᾶς διὰ γραμμάτων.

[51] 469, A. Καὶ τὰ ἐπιβλήματα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὰ διαφανῆ Λακωνικά . . . ὥστε μιμεῖσθαι τὰ τῶν Λακαινῶν ἐπιβλήματα. αἱ κατὰ τὴν ὄρχησιν τὸ φανερῶς γυμνοῦσθαι ὡς ἄσεμνον παραιτούμεναι ὑπερβάλλουσαν λεπτότητι, λινῆν ἐσθῆτα περιβαλλόμενα.

allusion very cleverly: "I respect that as if it were a public announcement, and while I am smoothing the tablet, looking in, I am excited, as was no Laconian defendant looking into the Spartan skytale."[52] The skytale was a staff of peculiar shape carried by a Spartan general in the field. One like it was kept at Sparta. To write a despatch a paper was folded around the staff and writing made lengthwise upon it. When the papyrus, or whatever the tablet was composed of, was unrolled, the letters were seen scattered all over the sheet, making no sense. To read the message the sheet had to be folded again around the skytale. Thus the letter if intercepted was of no good to the enemy.

Basil touches upon a matter that could hardly be called Athenian, yet it was carried to a greater length at Athens than anywhere else. Speaking of the proverbial wordiness of the Athenian people, Basil remarks of a certain person, when writing to Leontius, "In no wise will he be silent, being both sophistical and Attic."[53] Gossiping and tale bearing was a notorious propensity of the Athenians. Scandalmongers and their ilk throve in Athens. Basil finds the people of the city in his own day decidedly inferior to those of classical Athens: "Now, it would be rarer for a wise or eloquent man to appear in our Agora than it would have been for branded men, or those with unclean hands, to have come into Athens of old."[54]

In his work against Eunomius, Basil makes a peculiar reference to the use of the scarabaeus, or a beetle similar to our scarabaeus, for estimating a period of time. He says: "According to the opinion of the best informed person, since the scarabei move in time, we define the time as the motion of the scarabei."[55] The scarabaeus was especially sacred in Egypt, and some of these ideas of Egyptian customs reflect institutions unusually aged and confused.

In his commentary upon Isaias the saint refers to a local habit of the Phœnicians, who cultivated their vines with oxen, though it does not appear why this was so. Basil writes of some people that

[52] Letter 3. Εὐλαβήθην αὐτὴν ὥς τι δημόσιον προσαγγέλλουσαν, καὶ παρ' ὃν ἐξέλυον καιρὸν τὸν κηρὸν ἐφοβούμην προσβλέπων, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐν αἰτίαις ὢν Σπαρτιάτης Λακωνικὴν σκυτάλην.

[53] Letter 20. σιωπήσει δὲ οὐδαμῶς, σοφιστική τε οὖσα καὶ Ἀττική.

[54] Letter 74. ὥστε τῶν περὶ παιδείαν καὶ λόγους ἧττον ἂν φανείη νῦν τις ἐμβαλὼν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἢ Αθήνησι πρότερον οἱ ἀτιμίαν καταγνωσμένοι ἢ τας χεῖρας ὄντες μὴ καθαροί.

[55] 233, C. Οὐκοῦν κατὰ τὸν τοῦ σοφωτάτου λόγον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ κάνθαροι ἐν χρόνῳ κινοῦνται ὁρισώμεθα τὸν χρόνον εἶναι ποιάν τινα κανθάρων κίνησιν.

"The diction of these people indicates the indigenous custom of their country, just as cultivating the vines with oxen in the case of the Phœnicians."[56]

2. *Historical Writers.* In discussing the historians from whom Basil draws most of his references and most of his information about antiquity, it seems advisable to include among them not only the professed historian, but also the biographer, who collected information not of great political importance, but frequently very significant when the lives of the men who guided the politics of the time are considered. Basil works in two references to Xerxes in his letters. He is distinctly literary in his correspondence and handles his allusions effectively. Speaking of creating great wonder, Basil says that Libanius could not have caused more "if you had led the barbarian sailing over Mt. Athos."[57] Xerxes' feat in digging a canal through the promontory back of Mt. Athos was a source of never ending wonder to the Greeks. Herodotus discusses it as an almost impossible feat of engineering.[58] Later Greeks thought the whole story a fable.

In another letter to Libanius he alludes to the number of the troops mustered at Thermopylae, saying, "I have ordered as many rafters supplied as were soldiers at Thermopylae."[59] Popular legend long gave the number of men as three hundred, but these were the Spartans alone. The allied forces made up a much more numerous contingent.[60]

Speaking of great wealth in his address To the Youths, Basil says: "For us, however, unless the talents of the Mysian Pythius are at hand, unless there are numberless herds of cattle, unless there are so many lands and so many fields, nothing suffices."[61] Pythius was a Lydian of great wealth who banqueted Xerxes' entire army when it passed through his country on the great invasion of Greece.[62] Inasmuch as Herodotus asserts in another passage that Xerxes' armed forces comprised about two millions

[56] 488, D. Ἡ μὲν λέξις τὴν ἐγχώριον συνήθειαν λέγει τῶν κατὰ Φοινίκην διὰ βοῶν ἀροτριώντων τὴν ἄμπελον.

[57] Letter 339. ἢ εἰ τὸν βάρβαρον ἤγες ὡτὲρ τὸν Ἄθω πλέοντα.

[58] *Cf.* Herodotus, VII., 22, 23.

[59] Letter 348. ἰσαρίθμους τοῖς ἐν θερμοπύλαις ἀγωνιζομένοις στρατιώταις στρωτῆρας χρησθῆναι προσέταξα.

[60] *Cf.* Herodotus, VII., 202, for a detailed catalogue of the troops.

[61] 183, C. Ἡμῖν δὲ ἄρα εἰ μὴ τὰ Πυθίου τοῦ Μυσοῦ προσείη τάλαντα καὶ πλέθρα γῆς τόσα καὶ τόσα καὶ βοσκημάτων ἐσμοὶ πλείους ἢ ἀριθμῆσαι οὐδὲν ἐξαρκέσει.

[62] *Cf.* Herodotus, VII., 27, 29.

of men, such a feat as Pythius performed would justly be regarded as remarkable.

In his Consolatio ad Aegrotum, Basil delivers this opinion: "The age of man is brief; the splendor of a toilsome life is short. It is the web of a spider; human opinion is uncertain. The phantasy of life is a dream, but the repose of the just is most happy."[63] This idea is an echo of a speech which Herodotus puts down as Xerxes', in which the King says: "After meditating the thought struck me to weep for the shortness of all human existence, for of all the men who are here present, in a hundred years from now not one will be alive."[64] Then, taking up the theme throughout succeeding paragraphs, another character who answers Xerxes develops the idea of the mutability of human affairs and their total uncertainty.

Dwelling upon clemency in a letter to Andronicus, Basil comments upon a story Herodotus tells about Croesus, whose son was accidentally slain by a man called Adrastus, but who "ceased from wrath against the slayer of his son when he gave himself up for punishment."[65] The story is related at length by Herodotus, who says that "Croesus, having heard Adrastus' request for death, pitied him."[66]

The other reference to Croesus appears in the same letter, when Basil speaks of the friendship that began between Croesus and Cyrus the Great, after Cyrus had subdued Lydia: "The great Cyrus became a friend to this very Croesus after the victory."[67] The story is told at considerable length and with the addition of many details by Herodotus.[68] The one other case in which Basil mentions Lydia is in the speech To the Youths, when he has an opportunity to expatiate at length upon the necessity of shunning superfluous wealth: "Whatever is superfluous and exceeds the measure of necessity, whether it should be the Lydian sand or the

[63] Consolatio ad Ægrotum. ὁ βίος τῶν ἀνθρώπων βραχὺς καὶ ὀλιγοχρόνιος τῆς ἐπιμόχθου ζωῆς ἡ φαιδρότης, ἱστὸς ἀράχνης εὐδιάλυτος ἡ δόξα ἡ φαντασία τοῦ βίου ὄναρ ἀλλὰ μακριωτάτη τῶν δικαίων ἡ ἄνεσις.

[64] Herodotus, VII., 46. Ἐσῆλθε γάρ με λογισάμενον κατοικτῖραι ὡς βραχὺς εἴη ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος βίος εἰ τούτων γε ἐόντων τοσούτων οὐδεὶς ἐς ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος περιέσται.

[65] Letter 112. οὕτω καὶ Κροῖσος τῷ παιδοφόνῳ τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφεῖναι λέγεται ἑαυτὸν παραδόντι εἰς τιμωρίαν.

[66] Herodotus, I., 45. Κροῖσος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας τόν τε Ἄδρηστον κατοικτίρει.

[67] Letter 112. Καὶ Κῦρος ὁ μέγας αὐτῷ τούτῳ τῷ Κροίσῳ φίλος γενέσθαι μετὰ τὴν νίκην.

[68] *Cf.* Herodotus, I., 88.

labor of the gold bearing ants, so much more should be shunned."[69] The river Pactolus in Lydia carried down gold in its sands and was considered a source of great wealth by the ancients. Croesus had controlled all the gold mines and made himself famous for his riches. The gold of the river's sands was well known.[70] The case of the ants is also derived from the same author. An idea long prevailed that in India existed ants which mined and hoarded gold. This is also dwelt upon at considerable length in the same book.[71]

Besides Herodotus, Basil could have used other writers effectively for information on Egyptian matters, but the old historian was popular among the Greeks. The saint is touching upon a very ancient idea among the Hellenes when he says that "the blood of the bull is poison for you."[72] This notion was very prevalent in Greek literature. Aristophanes makes one of his characters in the Knights, when contemplating suicide, say, "It were best for us to drink the blood of a bull,"[73] and Herodotus tells at length the story of Psalmennitus, the last ruler of Egypt, and how, when he had been taken by Cambyses and convicted of a plot, "Being constrained by Cambyses, he drank the blood of a bull and died. Thus, then, he perished."[74]

Basil takes up a peculiarly Egyptian instance when he speaks of the hippopotamus, which the Greeks first met on the upper Nile, and which they ever after associated with things Egyptian. In speaking of various kinds of amphibious animals, he mentions the hippopotamus, saying: "Such amphibia as seals, crabs, crocodiles, river horses and frogs."[75] Herodotus, the first Greek traveler who left a connected record of his Egyptian impressions, describes this peculiar animal at some length.[76] Basil's final reference to Egyptian things has to do with the statues and carvings that Herodotus mentions as being so numerous in certain parts. The Commentaries upon Isaias have this passage, in which Basil writes:

[69] 183, A. Τὸ γὰρ τῆς χρείας περιττότερον, κἂν Λύδιον ἢ ψῆγμα κἂν τῶν μυρμήκων ἔργον τῶν χρυσοφόρων τοσούτῳ πλέον ἀτιμάσει, ὅσῳ περ ἂν ἧττον προσδέηται.

[70] *Cf.* Herodotus, V., 101.

[71] *Cf.* Herodotus, III., 102.

[72] 43, B. ἐπειδή σοι δηλητήριον τὸ ταύριον αἷμα.

[73] Knights, 83. βέλτιστον ἡμῖν αἷμα ταύρειον πιεῖν.

[74] Herodotus, III., 15. ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω αἷμα ταύρου πιὼν ἀπέθανε παραχρῆμα. οὕτω δὴ οὗτος ἐτελεύτησε.

[75] 63, D. οἷον φῶκαι καὶ κροκόδειλοι καὶ οἱ πόταμοι ἵπποι, καὶ βάτραχοι, καὶ καρχῖνοι.

[76] *Cf.* Herodotus, II., 71.

"In what way will the carved things cry out, carved from wood and stone or other material, formed by the art of man into images either of four-footed brute animals, or birds, or reptiles, such as the simulacra of the Egyptians."[77] Herodotus mentions in many places the various images and the interest in them that the Egyptians showed.[78]

In his Commentaries upon the Hexaemeron, Basil uses many peculiar ideas about natural history, two of which are taken directly from Herodotus. He says that "Vipers are born by gnawing through the womb of their mother (killing her), inflicting a proper return upon her."[79] Again he repeats the very idea in the same words in the second commentary upon psalm fourteen, saying, "Vipers are born by gnawing through the womb of their mother."[80]

Basil's statement reproduces the story of Herodotus: "Being yet in the womb, they gnaw their mother, and having gnawed her womb, they make their entrance into the world."[81]

The remaining reference comes also in the Hexaemeron, when he states that "A lioness with difficulty gives birth to one lion."[82] Herodotus has it: "The lioness, the strongest and fiercest of wild beasts, bears but one in her life."[83]

Basil's remaining references that can be directly connected with Herodotus are scattered and without connection with each other. He speaks of the old age of Tithonus and Arganthonius, having said that he would reject the offer "If anyone were to proffer the age of Tithonus or of Arganthonius."[84] Tithonus has been mentioned. Herodotus tells of Arganthonius: "Arganthonius

[77] 558, C. Πῶς ὀλολύξει γλυπτά, ἃ ἐκ ξύλου καὶ λίθου ἤ τινος ἄλλης ὕλης ἐστὶ μορφούσης αὐτὰ τῆς τέχνης εἰς ἀνθρώπων εἰκόνας ἢ ζώων ἀλόγων τετραπόδων ἢ πτηνῶν, ἢ καὶ ἑρπετῶν, οἷα τὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔστιν ἀφιδρύματα;

[78] *Cf.* Herodotus, II., 4, 131, 143, 176, etc.

[79] 85, A. Καὶ ἔχιδναι τὰς μήτρας ἐκφαγοῦσαι προέρχονται πρέποντας τῇ γεννησαμένῃ τοὺς μισθοὺς ἐκτιννύουσαι.

[80] 111, D. τὰς ἐχίδνας λέγουσι τὴν γαστέρα τῆς μητρὸς διεσθιούσας τίκτεσθαι.

[81] Herodotus, III., 109. ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ ἐόντα τὰ τέκνα διεσθίει τὴν μητέρα διαφαγόντα δὲ τὴν νηδὺν αὐτῆς οὕτω τὴν ἔκδυσιν ποιέεται.

[82] 85, A. ὅθεν λέοντος ἑνὸς μόλις ἡ λέαινα μήτηρ γίνεται.

[83] Herodotus, III., 108. ἡ δὲ δὴ λέαινα ἐὸν ἰσχυρότατον καὶ θρασύτατον, ἅπαξ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τίκτει ἕν.

[84] 184, C. Ἐγὼ δὲ κἂν τὸ Τιθωνοῦ τις γῆρας, κἂν τὸ Ἀργανθωνίου λέγῃ . . .

ruled over Tartessus eighty years, and he lived altogether one hundred and twenty."[85]

In the same work occurs another stray reference: "I do not see, except as it is in the fables of the dragons, that it is pleasant or satisfactory to keep guard over treasures that have been buried."[86] Herodotus tells at length of the gold guarding griffins of Scythia and the one-eyed Arimaspi who inhabited the country and who fought with the griffins for the gold.[87] The same fantastic theme must have been well known to the poets. Aeschylus has a line in Prometheus Bound, "The one-eyed equestrian army of Arimaspians."[88]

The Scythians were always known to the Greeks as an equestrian and nomadic nation. Basil is aware of the rough and uncivilized habits of these peoples, and calls attention to them in a homily upon the psalms: "The Scythian nomads are trained in rough and inhuman customs."[89] The same subject is discussed at length by Herodotus in his book upon the Scythians.[90]

Speaking of the relative length of days in the different latitudes, and the shorter days in the more northern places, Basil says, "It is this which happens to all of us 'hetero-skii' who inhabit the northern regions of the earth."[91] Herodotus has left the oldest recorded idea upon the alteration of shadows according to the changing position of the sun. He tells of Phoenician navigators who sailed around Africa, and noted in the course of their voyage that the position of the sun altered, being first upon one hand, and when they returned upon the other.[92]

In Basil's Consolatio ad Aegrotum is found a parallelism to some passages upon a corresponding subject in Herodotus. The saint points out the uncertainty of human efforts and the fleeting nature of human gain, and indicates ways to happiness and the life of a man who would attain happiness. He concludes, "Such

[85] Herodotus, I., 163. 'Αργανθώνιος ἐτυρράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ ὀγδώκοντα ἔτεα ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν.

[86] 83, A. 'Εγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶ πλὴν εἰ μὴ κατὰ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς μύθοις δράκοντας ἡδονήν τινα φέροι θησαυροῖς κατορωρυγμένοις ἐπαγρυπνεῖν.

[87] *Cf.* Herodotus, III., 116, IV., 13, 27.

[88] Prometheus Bound, 805. τόν τε μουνῶπα στρατὸν 'Αριμασπὸν ἱπποβάμον.

[89] 102, C. Σκύθαι δὲ Νομάδες, ἀνημέροις καὶ ἀπανθρώποις συντραφέντες ἤθεσιν.

[90] *Cf.* Herodotus, IV., 62-73.

[91] 57, C. καὶ τοῦτο παρ' ἡμῖν τοῖς ἑτεροσκίοις λεγομένοις ὅσοι τὰ ἀρκτῷα τῆς γῆς ἐποικοῦμεν.

[92] *Cf.* Herodotus, IV., 42.

is the life of man, a stormy sea, an unsteady wind, an inconstant dream, a wandering river, a vanishing smoke, a receding shadow, an ocean stormy with breakers, the tempest awe inspiring, the vessel unsafe, and we, the sailors, asleep."[93] Herodotus takes up the theme of the vanity of human wishes and gives the pagan conception of happiness. He relates the story of Tellus, the Athenian, who after a blameless life died fighting for his country, and again the case of Cleobis and Bito, who earned happiness by filial piety, and with it the praise of the people and a reward from the gods, who sent them a happy and painless death before age had brought any of life's evils. The changeable nature of human things seems strongly evident to both authors.[94]

Basil's acquaintance with Thucydides shows but slightly. He writes in a letter to Gregory, "Assuredly Alcmaeon, having found the Echinades, did not wish to go further."[95] Alcmaeon is used as an instance of someone halting after arriving at a goal, only with the greatest difficulty. Thucydides narrates at length the whole story: "It is said that Alcmaeon, son of Amphiaraus, was told by Apollo, while wandering after the murder of his mother, to settle in this land, hinting at no deliverance from his terrors until Alcmaeon had found a place not in existence and not seen by the sun at the time he killed his mother, for the rest of the world was cursed for him. And he, wandering, as they say, with difficulty, discovered this mud deposit of the Achelous, and it seemed to him that enough earth had accumulated to support a person during the time that he had been wandering after killing his mother. There he settled . . ."[96]

Basil says in a letter to Martinianus, "When I speak of the Podandus, suppose that I am referring to the Spartan Ceadas, or

[93] Consolatio ad Ægrotum. τοιοῦτος ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος ἄστατος θάλασσα ἀὴρ ἀνώμαλος ὄναρ ἀβέβαιον ῥεῦμα παρατρέχον, καπνὸς διαλεχεόμενος, σκιὰ μεταπηδῶσα πέλαγος ὑπὸ κυμάτων ἐνοχλούμενον. καὶ ἡ μὲν ζάλη φοβερὰ ὁ δὲ πλοῦς ἐπισφαλὴς οἱ δὲ ἐπιβάται νυστάζομεν.

[94] *Cf.* Herodotus, I., 30, 31.

[95] Letter 14. Πάντως γὰρ οὐδὲ 'Αλκμαίων 'Εχινάδας εὑρὼν ἔτι τῆς πλάνης ἠνέσχετο.

[96] Thucydides, II., 102. λέγεται δὲ καὶ 'Αλκμέωνι τῷ 'Αμφιάρεω ὅτε δὴ ἁλᾶσθαι αὐτὸν μετὰ τὸν φόνον τῆς μητρός, τὸν 'Απόλλω ταύτην τὴν γῆν χρῆσαι οἰκεῖν ὑπειπόντα οὐκ εἶναι λύσιν τῶν δειμάτων πρὶν ἂν εὑρὼν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ κατοικίστηται ἥτις ὅτε ἔκτεινε τὴν μητέρα μήπω ὑπὸ ἡλίου ἑωρᾶτο μηδὲ γῇ ἦν ὡς τῆς γε ἄλλης αὐτῷ μεμιασμένης. ὁ δ' ἀπορῶν ὡς φασὶ μόλις κατενόησε τὴν πρόσχωσιν ταύτην τοῦ 'Αχελῴου, καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἱκανὴ ἂν κεκῶσθαι δίαιτα τῷ σώματι ἀφ' οὗπερ κτείνας τὴν μητέρα οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐπλανᾶτο καὶ κατοικισθείς.

any natural fissure that you have seen."[97] Thucydides mentions the Spartan Ceadas. The pit outside the city into which dead criminals were cast was long called by this name. Thucydides, in telling of the death of the Spartan general, Pausanias, says, "They were about to cast him into the Ceadas, where they throw criminals."[98]

Of the ten references which Basil makes that can be referred to Plutarch, three deal with Alexander the Great. This is not at all strange, considering what a noted character he was in Greek history and how he dazzled the Greek imagination as no one had done since Achilles. Basil twice finds opportunity to make mention of Pericles, but the remainder of the observations are scattered.

In the speech To the Youths, Basil argues for self-restraint, urging the need of respect for others, and telling a story of Alexander: "I will not pass the deed of Alexander, who, having captive the daughters of Darius, whose beauty was said to be unusual, did not think it right to look at them."[99] Plutarch, after discussing the treatment of the prisoners, concluded by saying, "Displaying, in opposition to the beauty of their appearance, the fairness of his own control and moderation, he passed them by as though they were but lifeless images."[100]

Urging charity in judging, Basil backs up his argument with a story of how Alexander acted in a difficult case: "Imitate Alexander, who received a letter saying that his physician was plotting his death. At the very moment when about to drink the medicine he was so far from believing the slanderer that he at one and the same time read the letter and drank the draught."[101] Plutarch

[97] Letter 74. ὅταν δὲ Ποδανδὸν εἴπω τὸν Κεάδαν με οἷου λέγειν τὸν Λακωνικὸν ἢ εἴ που τῆς οἰκουμένης εἶδες βάραθρον αὐτοφυές.

[98] Thucydides, I., 134. Καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμέλλησαν μὲν ἐς τὸν Καιάδαν (οὗπερ τοὺς κακούργους) ἐσβάλλειν. The traveler Pausanias mentions the pit also. *Cf.* Description of Greece, IV., 18, 4, 1. There is a casual notice in Strabo of such natural pits, which were called Kaietoi. *Cf.* Strabo, Geographica, VIII., 367.

[99] 179, A. οὐκ ἂν παρέλθοιμι τὸ τοῦ 'Αλεξάνδρου, ὃς τὰς θυγατέρας Δαρείου αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν θαυμαστόν τι οἷον το κάλλος παρέχειν μαρτυρουμένας οὐδὲ προσίδειν ἠξίωσιν.

[100] Life of Alexander, 21. ἀντεπιδεικνύμενος δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἰδέαν τὴν ἐκείνων τὸ τῆς ἰδίας ἐγκρατείας καὶ σωφροσύνης κάλλος, ὥσπερ ἀψύχους εἰκόνας ἀγαλμάτων παρέπεψεν.

[101] Letter 272. τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον μιμούμενος ὃς ἐπιστολὴν κατὰ τοῦ ἰατροῦ δεξάμενος ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντος ἐπειδὴ ἔτυχεν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ καιρῷ φάρμακον λαβὼν ὥστε πιεῖν τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε πιστεῦσαι τῷ διαβάλλοντι, ὥστε ὁμοῦ τε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναγίγνωσκε καὶ τὸ φάρμακον ἔπινεν.

gives the story: "When the time appointed was at hand, and Philip (Philip, the Acarnian, Alexander's physician) came in with the king's medicine in a cup, Alexander handed him the letter, while he himself took the medicine with readiness and no sign of suspicion. It was an amazing sight then, and one well worthy of the stage, the one reading the letter, the other drinking the medicine . . ."[102]

The last reference to Alexander occurs in a letter from Basil to Elias. When asking impartiality, he says, "You remember that Alexander, as they say, when one of his friends was being calumniated, left one ear open to the slanderer, and carefully closed the other with his hand, with the object of showing that he, whose duty is to judge, ought not to be easily and entirely given to those who first get a hearing, but should keep half his hearing for the defense of those absent."[103] Plutarch gives the same story, though for once in a more abridged form. He writes, "It is said that at first, when he was trying capital cases, he would put his hand over his ear while the accuser was speaking that he might keep it free and unprejudiced for the accused."[104]

In discussing moderation and self-control, Basil uses a story that was current about Pericles. "A man of the agora abused Pericles,"[105] Basil writes. He was a ruffian of exceedingly low character, according to Plutarch, who says that he insulted Pericles at opportunity throughout the day, but Pericles, "When he was about to go home, as it was already growing dark, ordered one of his domestics to take a torch and accompany the man guiding him to his home."[106]

Basil remarks that the conduct of Pericles and Euclid conform

[102] Life of Alexander, 19, 3. ὡς δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ παρόντος εἰσῆλθε μετὰ τῶν ἑταίρων ὁ Φίλιππος τὸ φάρμακον ἐν κύλικι κομίζων, ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐπέδωκε τὴν ἐπιστολήν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ φάρμακον ἐδέξατο προθύμως καὶ ἀνυπόπτως, ὥστε θαυμαστὴν καὶ θεατρικὴν τὴν ὄψιν εἶναι, τοῦ μὲν ἀναγιγνώσκοντος, τοῦ δὲ πίνοντος.

[103] Letter 94. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον φασὶ διαβαλλομένου τινὸς τῶν συνήθων τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν τῶν ἀκοῶν ἀνεῖναι τῷ διαβάλλοντι τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν ἐπιμελῶς ἐπιφράξασθαι τῇ χειρί. ἐνδεικνύμενον ὅτι δέοι τὸν ὀρθῶς κρίνειν μέλλοντα μὴ ὅλον εὐθὺς τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν ἀπάγεσθαι ἀλλὰ τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς ἀκροάσεως ἀκέραιον διασώζειν πρός ἀπολογίαν τῷ μὴ παρόντι.

[104] Life of Alexander, 42. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὰς δίκας διακρίνων ἐν ἀρχῇ τὰς θανατικὰς τὴν χεῖρα τῶν ὤτων τῷ ἑτέρῳ προστιθέναι τοῦ κατηγόρου λέγοντος ὅπως τῷ κινδυνεύοντι καθαρὸν φυλάττηται καὶ ἀδιάβλητον.

[105] 178, B. οἷον, ἐλοιδόρει τὸν Περικλέα τῶν ἐξ ἀγορᾶς τις ἀνθρώπων.

[106] Life of Pericles, 5. ὡς δ' ἔμελλεν εἰσιέναι σκότους ὄντος ἤδη προσέταξέ τινι τῶν οἰκετῶν φῶς λαβόντι παραπέμψαι καὶ καταστῆσαι πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

to the Christian precepts: "The deed of Pericles or of Euclid accords with this 'to bear with those who persecute you, and endure their anger mildly.' "[107]

In a letter to Libanius Basil works in the famous story of Theseus and the Cretan Labyrinth: "Going back again to seek for the right order, retreating and following the furrow, like Theseus in the story, as they say, following Ariadne's thread."[108] Plutarch in his life of Theseus tells the story with all its details. In regard to the affair of the Labyrinth, Plutarch says, "When Theseus sailed to Crete, as most of the poets and historians say, he got a thread from Ariadne, who had fallen in love with him, and was instructed by her how to find his way through the windings of the Labyrinth . . ."[109]

The story of the first Gallic invasion of Italy, of how Brennus and his men very nearly took the Capitol, but were frustrated by the sacred geese, furnishes an anecdote for the Hexaemeron: "When the enemy was advancing by subterranean passages to the peak of the Capitol of Rome to take it, the sacred geese announced the danger."[110] Plutarch tells it thus: "The geese, being specially wakeful and restless by reason of their hunger, perceived the approach of the Gauls and dashed at them with loud cries and so waked the garrison."[111]

In another part of his commentaries upon the Hexaemeron, Basil describes the faithfulness of dogs, referring to a type of incident that Plutarch uses in his life of Pyrrhus. Basil remarks that "Many dogs are said to have fallen dead in lonely places by their murdered masters, and others when a crime has been committed have led those who were searching for the murderer, and caused the criminals to be brought to justice."[112] Plutarch's story

[107] 179, D. τὸ δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους ἢ τὸ Εὐκλείδου τῷ τοὺς διώκοντας ὑπομένειν καὶ πράως αὐτῶν τῆς ὀργῆς ἀνέχεσθαι.

[108] Letter 334. ἀνατρέχειν ἔδει πάλιν καὶ τὴν τάξιν ἐπιζητεῖν ἀναποδίζοντα καὶ παρεπόμενον τῷ αὔλακι καθάπερ τὸν Θησέα τῷ μίτῳ τῆς Ἀριάδνης φασί.

[109] Theseus, 19. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπλευσεν εἰς Κρήτην ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ γράφουσι καὶ ἄδουσι παρὰ τῆς Ἀριάδνης ἐρασθείσης τὸ λίνον λαβὼν καὶ διδαχθεὶς ὡς ἔστι τοῦ Λαβυρίνθου τοὺς ἑλιγμοὺς διεξελθεῖν.

[110] 78, C. πολεμίους τινὰς ὑπὸ γῆς δι' ὑπονόμων ἀφανῶν ἤδη μέλλοντας τὴν ἄκραν τῆς Ῥώμης καταλαμβάνειν καταμηνύσαντες.

[111] Camillus, 27. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ καὶ διὰ λιμὸν ἀγρυπνητικοὶ καὶ θορυβώδεις γεγονότες ταχὺ τὴν ἔφοδον ἤσθοντο τῶν Γαλατῶν καὶ μετὰ δρόμου καὶ κλαγγῆς φερόμενοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπήγειραν ἅπαντας.

[112] 84, D. ὅπου γε καὶ φονευθεῖσι δεσπόταις κατ' ἐρημίαν πολλοὶ τῶν κυνῶν ἐπαποθανόντες μνημονεύονται. Ἦδε δὲ τινες ἐπὶ θερμῷ τῷ πάθει καὶ ὁδηγοὶ τοῖς ἐκζητοῦσι τοὺς φονέας ἐγένοντο καὶ ὑπὸ δίκην ἀχθῆναι τοὺς κακούργους ἐποίησαν.

is as follows: "King Pyrrhus, going upon a journey, chanced upon a dog guarding the body of a murdered man . . . (He ordered the body buried and the dog brought along with him. After a considerable length of time the dog came into the presence of the criminals.) . . . When he saw the murderers of his master present he rushed upon them with violence and barking . . . and they say that the dog of Hesiod, the philosopher, did the very same things."[113]

Writing to Candidianus, Basil tells of the affairs of Demosthenes in comparison with those of Candidianus: "I could compare the condition of your affairs with Demosthenes. He, indeed, you remember, when he furnished choruses with a few choristers and flute players, wished no more to be called Demosthenes, but choregus."[114] Plutarch makes the following remark upon the same case: "Demosthenes, who is now not Demosthenes, but lawgiver, choregus, and crown-bearer."[115]

Urging Martinianus to stand fast by his expressed political principles, Basil writes: "You will thus either prove some help to the state or you will at least have done what Solon did."[116] He then goes on to tell the story of how Solon, when the Pisistrids seized the Acropolis, being then an old man and unable to prevent the action, put on his arms and sat down before the gate to indicate that he was not in sympathy with the move. Plutarch has it, that Solon "Went to his house and, taking his arms, put them in the street before the gate, saying, 'I have done all I can to help the country and the law.' "[117] Aristotle mentions the case in his Constitution of Athens, using it to illustrate his theories of government.[118] Diogenes Laertius also speaks of it and gives the

[113] Plutarch, De Sollertia Animalum, 13. Πύρρος δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁδεύων ἐνέτυχε κυνὶ φρουροῦντι σῶμα πεφονευμένου . . . ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς φονέας τοῦ δεσπότου παριόντας εἶδεν ἐξέδραμε μετὰ φωνῆς καὶ θυμοῦ ἐπ' αὐτούς . . . ταὐτὰ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἡσιόδου κύνα τοῦ σοφοῦ δρᾶσαι λέγουσι.

[114] Letter 3. τοῦτο δὲ πρὸς τὰ Δημοσθένους τὰ σὰ κρίναντι. ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἐπειδὴ ὀλίγοις τισὶ χορευταῖς καὶ αὐληταῖς ἐχορήγει οὐκέτι ἠξίου Δημοσθένης ἀλλὰ χορηγὸς ὀνομάζεσθαι.

[115] Plutarch, Præcepta Gerendae Reipublicae, 22. ὅτι νῦν οὐκ ἔστι Δημοσθένης μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεσμοθέτης ἢ χορηγὸς ἢ στεφανηφόρος.

[116] Letter 74. Ἦ γὰρ γενήσῃ τι ὄφελος τοῖς κοινοῖς ἢ τό γε τοῦ Σόλωνος πεποιηκὼς ἔσῃ.

[117] Solon, 30. ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ λαβὼν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν θέμενος εἰς τὸν στενωπόν, Ἐμοὶ μὲν εἶπεν, ὡς δυνατὸν ἦν βεβοήθηται τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς νόμοις.

[118] *Cf.* Aristotle, Politeia Athenaion, 14, 2.

answer that Solon was supposed to have made on being reproached for his behavior.[119]

In the case of Xenophon there is very little to indicate the extent of Basil's readings in or familiarity with this author. Xenophon speaks of the "mandrake, which gives men sleep."[120] Basil uses the same expression. In the Hexaemeron he says that "By the mandrake physicians give us sleep."[121] The thought is the same as well as part of the wording, but the connection is loose. Such a remark proves nothing. The other instance is a story cited by Basil in the address To the Youths. Xenophon relates at length in his Memorabilia the tale of Heracles and his choice between Vice and Virtue.[122] The theme is an old one and did not originate with Xenophon. The use that Basil makes of the story gives good grounds for suspecting that he had Xenophon's version in mind, especially as he quotes a notable verse, also quoted in Xenophon's text. The Greek, too, shows numerous resemblances.[123]

The story of Milo, which Basil refers to, may be from Pausanias. Milo, according to the latter's account, was a famous wrestler of Crotona. Basil says that Milo would cling to a greased shield, and that his strength was so great that no one could push him off: "Milo could not be moved from his shield, but pushed, as he was, clung to it no less firmly than statues that are soldered with lead."[124] Pausanias tells the same story: "He would stand on a greased quoit, laughing at those who tried to shove him and push him off."[125]

With Basil affairs that appeal to the dramatic and excitable parts of his hearers' or readers' natures are far more to the point than cold facts. This was natural, for he sought effect. Many references point to Herodotus, who was a born story-teller, but not an historian.

Basil's historical field is not very wide, and the range of authors that he seems to have in mind for ready reference is not

[119] *Cf.* Diogenes Lærtius, Solon, 49.

[120] Symposium, 2, 24. ὁ μανδραγόρας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κοιμίζει . . .

[121] 43, D. Διὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ μανδραγόρου ὕπνον ἰατροὶ κατεπάγουσιν.

[122] *Cf.* Xenophon Memorabilia, II., 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26.

[123] *Cf.* 178, B-C. *Cf.* Dörgens, Op. cit., for a detailed parallel of the two passages.

[124] 180, D. Καὶ ὅ γε Μίλων ἀπὸ τῆν ἀληλιμμένης ἀσπίδος οὐκ ἐξωθεῖτο ἀλλ' ἀντεῖχεν ὠθούμενος οὐχ ἧττον ἢ οἱ ἀνδριάντες οἱ τῷ μολύβδῳ συνδεδεμένοι.

[125] Pausanias, VI., 14. ἱστάμενος δὲ ἐπὶ ἀληλιμμένῳ τῷ δίσκῳ γέλωτα ἐποιεῖτο τοὺς ἐμπίπτοντάς τε καὶ ὠθοῦντας ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου.

very great. It will be seen that historical events that are of much importance and widely known are practically impossible to assign to any definite author. It is necessary in such cases to point out which writers do mention them and which ones Basil probably read. He made eighteen references that are easily traceable to Herodotus, but only two to Xenophon, twenty-four to Plutarch and two to Thucydides. In the case of Plutarch it was necessary, though, to divide the references according to philosophy and history. Those that had to do with history are all that have been treated in this chapter. The remaining ones will be found among the philosophical references.

In the ideas derived from Herodotus, mention of the great invasion of Greece by Xerxes occurs four times. Three references occur to Lydia, two being to Croesus, and one to the gold of the country. Three notices appear that trace readily to the book upon Egypt. Two observations upon natural history, one of which is repeated in another passage, point to the third book of Herodotus. The five remaining references are scattered and without connection among themselves.

Basil's method of referring to incidents of an historical nature is the next point to be considered. It is never precise. He uses an instance in a way that to an historical reader is neither definite nor informative. He inserts his allusions gracefully, but, of course, gives no hint of where he got them. His use is purely literary and not at all historical or scientific.

The situation runs true to form. For Basil was a product of the second sophistic. We can assume that his presentation was truthful as far as he knew, but we can see that it was not specific. We recognize a fundamental basis of fact behind the general incidents to which he airily refers, but we perceive that his references are consistently vague.

We cannot think that he subordinates facts to his fancies, but we know that he uses facts loosely to illustrate his fancies. We can grant that he would not change facts, but we know that he gives the facts in his own language and with his own ideas of presentation, which latter were suited to his imaginative audience. And an historical event is easily altered in the hands of a speaker bent upon presenting it dramatically to his audience. Recording of history was not his object. An impression upon his hearers meant much. Thus, his use of history is literary or rhetorical, and never technical nor historical.

CHAPTER V

THE PHILOSOPHERS

1. *Early philosophers.*

Among the very ancient philosophers Prodicus, of Ceos, was one of the most noted characters. Basil's solitary connection with him is related to an instance already discussed under Xenophon. The origin of the story about Heracles' choice between vice and virtue is attributed by Socrates to Prodicus, though there is no extant writing of any sort which can be attributed to Prodicus directly. Besides the reference already given under Xenophon, the only other source from which we can draw information about the story is a scholium on Aristophanes' Clouds.[1] Basil could have heard the story from many sources unknown to us. In the speech To the Youths, Basil remarks, after enlarging upon the necessity of choosing virtue, "And indeed the sophist Prodicus, of Ceos, somewhere in his writings has set forth views resembling these about virtue and vice, and he is a man to whom we must give attention, for he is not to be slighted."[2]

The ancient philosopher Zeno receives two notices, one in a letter to Olympius and one on the Hexaemeron. Personified philosophy, who is supposed to be speaking, says, "I choose to live with this man (Basil), who admires Zeno. That illustrious man having lost all his property in a shipwreck, cried out in no unmanly way, 'Well done, O Fortune, you have reduced me to a well worn cloak.' "[3] Zeno, as the founder of the Stoic school, was famous, and innumerable stories grew up about the Stoics. Another reference to a Stoic doctrine set forth by Zeno is rather

[1] *Cf.* Diels, Fragmente d. Vorsokratiker, Vol. II.

[2] 177, A. Καὶ μὴν καὶ ὁ Κεῖός που σοφοστὴς Πρόδικος τῶν ἑαυτοῦ συγγραμμάτων ἀδελφὰ τούτοις εἰς ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν ἐφιλοσόφησεν, ᾧ δὴ καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν διάνοιαν προσεκτέον. οὐ γὰρ ἀπόβλητος ὁ ἀνήρ.

[3] Letter 4. Τούτῳ συνοικεῖν εἱλόμην ἐγὼ νῦν μὲν τὸν Ζήνωνα ἐπαινοῦντι, ὃς ναυαγίῳ πάντα ἀποβαλὼν οὐδὲν ἀγενὲς ἐφθέξατο. ἀλλ' Εὖγε, εἶπεν, ὦ τύχη συνελαύνεις ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸ τριβώνιον.

vague. After arguing that the nature philosophers disagree among themselves, Basil goes on to say of the sea that the heat of the sun, evaporating the water, "leaves behind the salt and bitterness of the water, and by reason of the warmth absorbs the pure and drinkable mollicules."[4] The idea is paralleled by a stray remark in Diogenes Laertius' life of Zeno: "The moon is more earth-like, being nearer the earth, and the fiery masses and the other stars are nourished from the great sea, and even the sun is intellectual and kindled from the sea."[5] How they are nourished or from what particles of sea water they draw power is not clear. Such ideas were very old and had been threshed over again and again in various schools. Diogenes in the same article repeatedly cites men who are only names to us, and who had written book after book, not one of which has come down. Most of these confused theories are almost beyond definite location.

Basil throughout his works shows many traces of acquaintance with the early philosophers. For instance, he cites a teaching as in the case of Heraclitus, "The essence of fire is necessary to the universe."[6] This was the thesis of Heraclitus, who entered many fields and endeavored to find the first cause of things. Basil remarks of these early philosophers that "Some had recourse to material principles and attributed the origin of the universe to the elements of the world."[7]

In this characterization he probably had in mind the Atomists. He seems to have had a poor opinion of the Stoics, saying, "Let the supporters of impiety hereafter be classed with the Stoics and Epicureans."[8] In a letter to Amphilochius he brings up a quotation, perhaps not offered in earnest, speaking of "The weighty problem put by Eucratites, 'Why do we not eat everything?' "[9] Eucratites does not appear among the pre-Socratics and was probably one of the quibbling sophists.

Basil speaks of the books of the philosopher Dionysius, writ-

[4] 30, A. Καὶ προσέτι ἁλμυρὰν καὶ πικρὰν ἀπολείπεσθαι τοῦ λεπτοῦ καὶ ποτίμου ὑπὸ τῆς θέρμης ἀναλωθέντος.

[5] Diogenes Lærtius, VII., Zeno. (145). γεωδεστέραν δὲ τὴν σελήνην ἅτε καὶ προσγειοτέραν οὖσαν τρέφεσθαι δὲ τὰ ἔμπυρα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄστρα, τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάττης νοερὸν ὄντα ἄναμμα.

[6] 27, C. Ἐπειδὴ ἀναγκαία τῷ παντὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ἡ οὐσία.

[7] 3, A. Διὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς ὑλικὰς ὑποθέσεις κατέφυγον, τοῖς τοῦ κόσμου στοιχείοις τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ παντὸς ἀναθέντες.

[8] 36, C. Ὀνομαζέσθωσαν λοιπὸν μετὰ Στωικῶν καὶ Ἐπικουρείων οἱ διαψηφισταὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας.

[9] Letter 236. τοῖς δὲ κομψοῖς Ἐγκρατίταις πρὸς τὸ σεμνὸν αὐτῶν πρόβλημα διὰ τί καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐχὶ πάντα ἐσθίομεν.

ing to Maximus, another philosopher, "What you mentioned of the writings of Dionysius reached us and, indeed, they were very many."[10] This man was an Alexandrian, a scholar, a philosopher, a man of letters, and his books would naturally have an interest for Basil.

Diogenes Laertius appears in a secondary sense in some of Basil's allusions. His lives of the Philosophers gave him, of course, wide reputation, and in the case of many very old systems and men his word was, even in Basil's day, practically the only authority. His presentation is faulty and imperfect, but such as it is, his record is valuable. Basil does not name him at all, but tells incidents that Diogenes has recorded, offering a fair ground for comparison. The references are well scattered. There is one in a letter, two in the speech To the Youths, and four in three different homilies of the Hexaemeron.

The remark in the letter is to the story of Cleanthes, who was very poor and got the money to support himself and pay for education by working at night at a public well, drawing water. Basil refers to himself as a "Great admirer of Cleanthes, who drew water from a well for pay, whence he supported himself and paid his teachers."[11] Cleanthes was called the "Water-Drawer." Diogenes says that Cleanthes "Was poor and very anxious to get some money. He pumped water by night in the gardens and by day busied himself with his studies, hence he was called the Water-Drawer."[12]

Both of the references in the speech To the Youths deal with the Seven Wise Men of Greece. Basil says, "Is not rather the word of Pittacus true, who said, 'It is difficult to be good'?"[13] The life of Pittacus was a theme for much legend. Diogenes says that the following saying (of Pittacus) has been handed down, "It is difficult to be good."[14] The same remark is celebrated by Simonides, with whom, as already seen, Basil is acquainted. "Truly it is difficult for a man to be good," writes Simonides,

[10] Letter 9. Ἃ δὲ ἐπιζητεῖς τῶν Διονυσίου ἦλθε μὲν εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ πάνυ πολλά.

[11] Letter 4. νῦν δὲ τὸν Κλεάνθην μισθῷ ὕδωρ τοῦ φδέατος ἀπαντλοῦντα ὅθεν αὐτός τε διέζη, καὶ τοῖς διδασκάλοις μισθοὺς ὑπετέλει.

[12] Diogenes Lærtius, VII., Cleanthes. ὅς γε πένης ὢν ἄγαν ὥρμησε μισθοφορεῖν. Καὶ νύκτωρ μὲν ἐν τοῖς κήποις ἤντλει μεθ' ἡμέραν δ' ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἐγυμνάζετο. ὅθεν καὶ Φρεάντλης ἐκλήθη.

[13] 181, C. Ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀληθὴς μᾶλλον ὁ τοῦ Πιττακοῦ λόγος, ὃς χαλεπὸν ἔφησεν ἐσθλὸν ἔμμεναι;

[14] Diogenes Lærtius, I., Pittacus. Εἰπέ τε, χαλεπὸν ἐσθλὸν ἔμμεναι.

naming Pittacus in connection with the idea, further in the poem.[15]

The other reference to a Wise Man is to Bias: "Bias, when going with his son to Egypt, said to him as he inquired what course of action he could please his father with, 'Prepare an allowance for your old age.' "[16]

The remark attributed to Bias by Diogenes reads, "From youth cultivate wisdom as a resource for old age. For this is surer than your other possessions."[17] Basil had been arguing on the value of an education.

In homily three of the Hexaemeron he leads up to a view perhaps attributable to the philosopher Democritus: "For there are some among them (the pagan philosophers) who say that infinite heavens and worlds exist."[18] This view may be referred likewise to Anaximander. Diogenes Laertius gives it as one of the opinions of Democritus: "The world is boundless, but it had an origin and is destructible."[19] But Anaximander stated outright that "The Beginning and Principle (of all things) is the Infinite."[20] So that the exact origin of the idea is in some doubt and, like many other early speculations, had probably been long used before being assigned to one man or a few.

A fragment of verse attributed to Solon has already been seen. In addition one other and very vague possible reference appears in the Hexaemeron. Basil has compared the weakness of the pagan philosophical and scientific systems to a spider's web, which holds only the weak, "But when one of the stronger animals approaches it, it pushes through easily, dragging the thin substance with it."[21] Solon's idea is parallel: "He said that the word was the image of the deed. That the king was strongest by reason of his might, but the laws are like spiders' webs, for they, if any-

[15] *Cf.* Simonides, Anthologia Lyrica, fr. 3 (12).

[16] 184, B. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Βίας τῷ υἱεῖ πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους ἀπαίροντι καὶ πυνθανομένῳ τι ἂν ποιῶν αὐτῷ μάλιστα κεχαρισμένα πράττοι. Ἐφόδιον, ἔφη, πρὸς γῆρας κτησάμενος.

[17] Diogenes Lærtius, I., Bias (88). ἐφόδιον ἀπὸ νεότητος εἰς γῆρας ἀναλάμβανε σοφίαν. βεβαιότερον γὰρ τοῦτο τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων.

[18] 24, A. Εἰσὶ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἀπείρους οὐρανοὺς καὶ κόσμους εἶναι φασίν.

[19] Diogenes Lærtius, IX., 7, Democritus (44). ἀπείρους τ' εἶναι κόσμους καὶ γενητοὺς καὶ φθαρτούς.

[20] Diogenes Lærtius, II., 1, Anaximander. οὗτος ἔφασκεν ἀρχὴν καὶ στοιχεῖον τὸ ἄπειρον.

[21] 56, B. ἐπειδὰν δὲ τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων τι ζώων ἐγγίσῃ αὐτό τε ῥαδίως διεκπίπτει καὶ τὰ ἀδρανῆ ὑφάσματα διέρρηξε καὶ ἠφάνισε.

thing light or weak falls in, stop it, but if anything strong, cutting through, it is gone."[22]

In the eighth homily of the Hexaemeron, where he makes a final attack upon the pagan philosophers, Basil says, "Beware of those arrogant philosophers who are not ashamed to say that their souls resemble those of dogs, or believe that they were formerly women, or shrubs, or fish."[23] This statement, if Diogenes gives a correct account of Empedocles, is a direct attack upon that philosopher: "He taught that the soul put on the various forms of living and growing things."[24] Diogenes also credits Empedocles with the following statement, which, if true, explains Basil's remark very well: "Once, formerly I was a boy, then a girl, then a shrub, then a solitary bird, and a fish from the sea, a burnt offering."[25] The ideas about the transmigration of souls were very ancient. There is no absolute certainty that Empedocles was the man Basil had in mind, if indeed the saint were recalling a man and not a system.

Before Plato it might be well to trace out those authors of scientific work whose traces are found in Basil's writings. Strabo is the only one that can be referred to with any degree of probability. There are many ways in which a knowledge of geography could have been acquired besides by reading Strabo, and that Basil and Strabo use the same expressions proves nothing very definite. Basil says, for example, that "Some think the Hyrcanian and Caspian seas are enclosed in their own boundaries"[26] (meaning that they have no outlets), and the idea is possibly an echo of Strabo's statement that "From the Caspian sea the second sea takes its rise, into which the former empties. And this is called the Hyrcanian sea . . . It is a sea apart from the ocean."[27]

[22] Diogenes Lærtius, I., 2, Solon (58). ἔλεγε δὲ τὸν μὲν λόγον εἴδωλον εἶναι τῶν ἔργων. βασιλέα δὲ τὸν ἰσχυρότατον τῇ δυνάμει. Τοὺς δὲ νόμους τοῖς ἀραχνίοις ὁμοίους ἐὰν μὲν ἐμπέσῃ τι κοῦφον καὶ ἀσθενὲς στέγειν· ἐὰν δὲ μεῖζον διακόψαν οἴχεσθαι.

[23] 71, B. Φεῦγε φληνάφους τῶν σοβαρῶν φιλοσόφων, οἳ οὐκ αἰσχύνονται τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχάς, καὶ τὰς κυνείας ὁμοειδεῖς ἀλλήλαις τιθέμενοι. οἱ λέγοντες ἑαυτοὺς γεγενῆσθαί ποτε, καὶ γυναῖκας, καὶ θάμνους, καὶ ἰχθύας θαλασσίους.

[24] Diogenes Lærtius, VIII., 2, Empedocles (77). Καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν παντοῖα εἴδη ξῴων καὶ φυτῶν ἐνδύεσθαι.

[25] Diogenes Lærtius, VIII., 2, Empedocles (77). Ἤδη γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ γενόμην κοῦρός τε κόρη τε θάμνος τ' οἰωνός τε καὶ ἐξ ἁλὸς ἔμπυρος ἰχθύς.

[26] 36, A. Εἰ καὶ τὴν Ὑρκανίαν οἴονταί τινες καὶ τὴν Κασπίαν περιγεγράφθαι καθ' ἑαυτάς.

[27] Strabo, 507, C. Ἡ δὲ δευτέρα μερὶς ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Κασπίας θαλάττης εἰς ἣν κατέπαυεν ἡ προτέρα. καλεῖται δ' ἡ αὐτὴ θάλαττα καὶ Ὑρκανία . . . ἔστι δ' ὁ κόλπος ἀνέχων ἐκ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ . . .

Strabo refers to an "inflow" with regard to this sea, but mentions no outlet. Even in the time of Herodotus the Greeks had collected much stray information about the country.

In a succeeding book of the Hexaemeron Basil uses an expression that Strabo employs. Speaking of different kinds of sea fish, Basil says, "Some are known to fishers of the Indian Ocean, others to Mauretanians."[28] In Strabo the word Maurusia or the Maurusians is used to signify Mauretania or the Mauretanians, Strabo mentioning these fishers who "With these boats sail as far as the river Lixus on fishing trips around Maurusia."[29]

2. *Plato.*

Basil's studies in Plato cannot well be gauged by the way in which he names or instances the pagan writer, and yet it is interesting to note that he refers to Plato by name oftener than to any other Greek writer. He names Plato seven times and Aristotle but three. The number of passages that can be traced out in Basil as showing a dim connection are legion. This similarity shows itself in many fields besides that of literature itself. Naming an author, or a direct quotation, or a passage with obvious resemblances, can be recognized as a literary effort on the part of the man who produces them, for such citations generally have a direct literary purpose. But the fainter resemblances that are scattered throughout are more difficult to classify. In all such cases memory has undoubtedly been affected by past reading, but to say that such reminiscent passages, vague and half formed and totally beyond the grasp of an audience, unless one extraordinarily well read and informed and acute, are employed for literary effect, is passing beyond the bounds of legitimate direct effect. This is entering a department of thought which is individual, but affected by other men's ideas in the general way that every one's ideas are affected by the thoughts and opinions of those around him. Such sections of text are a legitimate field for speculation, but to judge that a close connection follows is making too little allowance for the effort of the writer in question. It must be remembered that Basil was himself something of a genius and had solved many philosophical problems.

Like any other sophistic speaker, he had the end in view all

[28] 64, B. Ἄλλα γνωρίζουσιν οἱ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἁλιεύοντες θάλασσαν . . . καὶ ἄλλα Μαυρούσιοι.

[29] Strabo, C., 99. Τούτοις δὲ πλεῖν μέχρι τοῦ Λίξου ποταμοῦ περὶ τὴν Μαυρουσίαν ἁλιευομένους.

the time. An impression was a great thing. He stood for the truth, but the truth had to be presented so as to suit his Asiatic audience, and the use of a famous name or of a striking story was a great stroke of oratory and well applauded among his eastern hearers. They liked that style of address.

Those references that occur in the Hexaemeron are generally of an uncertain nature. In this work Basil was reinforcing his sermons with a wealth of ideas partly his own, partly taken from all sorts of writers. About natural history he shows a vast series of notions, often incorrect, which may have been borrowed from Aristotle or Aelian. Similarly, other views that he advances may be cited from other authors. Yet topics of natural history would have been within the reach of anyone, and could hardly be assigned definitely to any one man. Some of these ideas are also partly theological or philosophical, and it is difficult to distinguish whether the trend of thought which led to their introduction and which influenced their quality and position in the discourse was more philosophical or more the hope of driving home an argument by the aid of a great philosopher's thoughts and reputation.

In the De Misericordia et Judicio Basil shows but one very noticeable instance, the use of an expression which Plato employs many times in a sense analogous to that which Basil evidences: "Pity him whom you have unjustly treated, and dispose yourself toward him with brotherly love."[30] Plato has the same use of the expression "to dispose" in many sections. For instance, "He disposed them for the strengthening of the state."[31] A mental attitude is signified.

In the speech To the Youths there are three cases that are pretty certainly developed from Plato, and three more in which the philosopher is named outright. Some of Basil's references are, of course, extremely condensed. For example, he says, in referring to the pagan poets and their writings, "We shall strongly approve those passages in which they praise virtue, or condemn vice."[32] This statement comes at the end of a section in which he assails the poets for their frequent representations of vicious con-

[30] De Misericordia et Judicio, 702, B. Ἐκεῖνον ἐλέησαν ὃν ἀδικεῖς. Εἰς τοῦτον καταχρῆσαι τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ.

[31] Republic, 520, A. ἀλλ' ἵνα καταχρῆται αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν σύνδεσμον τῆς πόλεως.

[32] 176, C. Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἀποδεξόμεθα, ἐν οἷς ἀρετὴν ἐπῃνεσαν ἢ πονηρίαν διέβαλον.

duct in men and gods. In a very concise form it is the summary of long arguments by Plato in the Republic.[33]

Basil once uses an aphorism partly reproduced from Plato: "That which is seen is not the man."[34] It would be stretching the meager thread of evidence far to say that the expression is Platonic, but it is paralleled in the pseudo Axiochus. After the flight of the soul "The body remaining, which is earthy and irrational, is not the man."[35]

Attacking deceitful appearances, Basil says, "If any belief is to be had in Plato, it is the last extreme of injustice for one to pose as good who is not."[36] Basil handles the idea well, for his statement is almost a replica of Plato's: "The worst injustice is to seem just when one is not."[37] Again in a succeeding passage Basil calls Plato by name and makes a significant mention of St. Paul: "One should indulge his desires, as Plato says, to that extent by which right living is served, or as Paul says, somewhere in a similar passage, 'Make no provision for the lusts of the flesh.' "[38]

This is an excellent instance of the connections so called that sometimes appear in source studies. This idea is in the very basis of Christian doctrine, and set down by St. Paul. Here it is very well paralleled in Plato. But it would be ridiculous to say that Plato's view affected St. Paul's. Cases of so-called influence are frequently built up, though on no more evidence. Further in the same chapter Basil again names the philosopher, and urging restraint instead of too much attention to bodily comfort, reinforces his argument with an appropriate story: "Therefore, they say that Plato, looking forward to the harm that might come from undue attention to the body, selected with malice aforethought as his Academy the unhealthy part of Attica, so that he might cut

[33] *Cf.* Republic, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383.

[34] 181, C. ὅτι οὐ τὸ ὁρώμενον ἔστιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος.

[35] Axiochus, 365, E. τὸ ὑπολειφθὲν σῶμα γεῶδες ὂν καὶ ἄλογον οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος.

[36] 178, A. Ἀλλ' οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἔσχατος τῆς ἀδικίας ὅρος εἴ τι δεῖ Πλάτωνι πείθεσθαι τὸ δοκεῖν δίκαιον εἶναι μὴ ὄντα.

[37] Republic, 361, A. ἐσχάτη γὰρ ἀδικία δοκεῖν δίκαιον εἶναι μὴ ὄντα.

[38] 182, B. ὅσον φησὶ Πλάτων ὑπηρεσίαν φιλοσοφίᾳ κτωμένου ἐοικότα που λέγων τῷ Παύλῳ ὃς παραινεῖ μηδεμίαν χρῆναι τοῦ σώματος πρόνοιαν ἔχειν εἰς ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀφορμήν.

Cf. Plato, Republic, III., 411. Throughout this and succeeding chapters Plato argues for temperance in athletics and education by which an even mean between physical and mental powers can be reached and the best sort of education result. *Cf.* St. Paul, To the Romans, XIII., 14.

away undue comforts of the body, as one cuts away excessive development of the vines."[39]

In the letters Basil introduces three instances from Plato, all of which are brought in neatly for rounding out the general idea, and are very effective. It is worth noticing, too, that a student of Basil must beware of forming opinions of the saint's writings, based upon the letters. For Basil was not professedly literary in his works, and many of his productions are severely doctrinal. But the one field in which he did permit himself some relaxation was his correspondence. Letters addressed to literary and political great men show a style that seldom, if ever, appears in his other productions.

A letter to Candidianus, who was the governor of Cappadocia and a man of consideration, contains various allusions for a well-read man, and among them one to Plato: "As Plato says, in the storm and turmoil of business, you stand aside as if under some strong wall, letting none of this confusion affect your soul . . ."[40] Suggesting a resemblance between the affairs of this man and of Plato was something of a compliment, too. The idea is much the same with the philosopher. He compares the man who pursues philosophic tranquillity and thought to "One who, in a storm of dust and snow, driven by a rushing wind, retreats under the shelter of a wall."[41]

In a letter to Diodorus, Plato comes to the front as a graceful writer, and some other philosophers are compared with him not at all to their advantage. The letter itself is a discussion of the style of some books sent to Basil, and literary views come out naturally in such a composition: "Your good taste has perceived that those pagan philosophers who wrote dialogues, Aristotle and Theophrastus, went straight at the matter, knowing that they were not gifted with the graceful style of Plato. Plato, in contradistinction with his vigor of style, assails such and such opinions,

[39] 182, C. Διὸ δὴ καὶ Πλάτωνα φασὶ τὴν ἐκ σώματος βλάβην προϊδόμενον τὸ νοσῶδες χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν καταλαβεῖν ἐξεπίτηδες, ἵνα τὴν ἄγαν εὐπάθειαν τοῦ σώματος οἷον ἀμπέλου τὴν εἰς τὰ περιττὰ φορὰν περικόπτοι.

It does not appear where Basil heard this story. In the neighborhood of Athens a great mass of legend grew up around Plato and such stories were on the order of the Platonic and Socratic teachings of self restraint and voluntary deprivations of comfort.

[40] Letter 3. ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐν χειμῶνι καὶ ζάλῃ πραγμάτων οἷον ὑπὸ τείχει τινὶ καρτερῷ ἀποστὰς, οὐδενὸς θορύβου τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναπίμπλασαι.

[41] Republic, 496, D. οἷον ἐν χειμῶνι κονιορτοῦ καὶ ζάλης ὑπὸ πνεύματος φερομένου ὑπὸ τειχίον ἀποστάς.

ridiculing the people in question, now rebuking the rashness and forwardness of Thrasymachus, now the light mindedness and ignorance of Hippias, and now the arrogance and pretensions of Protagoras. When he brings into his dialogue persons not introduced he uses the questioners to make a point clear, but brings into the dialogue nothing else about these persons. There is evidence of this in the Laws."[42] The first book of the Laws offers a fair example of the introduction of characters to clarify a dialogue. An Athenian stranger talks to a Cretan Cleinas and at odd intervals a Spartan Megillus throws in explanatory remarks or questions designed further to bring out the truth. Megillus is in every sense a secondary character, whose statements are of the briefest sort, befitting his Spartan nature, it is true, but very curt and blunt nevertheless. The philosophers mentioned by Basil were all ridiculed by Plato in different works. He introduces Thrasymachus into the Republic, and throughout the first book has him worsted in a debate with Socrates. Hippias and Protagoras appear as the sophistic opponents of Socrates in the Protagoras, and at the end are seen refuted.

In a letter to Libanius, Basil brings in a reference to Plato. He says of Libanius in the letter, "This *γριπίζειν* is said to mean "to gain," and has this signification which your sophistic ingenuity has drawn from the depths of Plato."[43] *γριπίζειν* is a rare word, signifying "to fish," and the use of it here is figurative.

In none of the references in the Hexaemeron is the philosopher named outright. They are much scattered, showing that connections with Plato are well divided among Basil's different views. In the opening homily Basil states briefly a thought that Plato puts forth at great length in the Timaeus. Talking about the wordy arguments of philosophers upon the nature of the heavens, Basil says, "Some of them say that the heavens are composed of

[42] Letter 135. Ἐκεῖνο γὰρ πάντως συνεῖδε σοῦ ἡ ἀρχίνοια ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν φιλοσόφων οἱ τοὺς διαλόγους συγγράψαντες Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Θεόφραστος, εὐθὺς αὐτῶν ἥψαντο τῶν χαρίτων τὴν ἔνδειαν. Πλάτων δὲ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ λόγου ὁμοῦ μὲν τοῖς δόγμασι, μάχεται ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ παρακωμωδεῖ τὰ πρόσωπα, Θρασυμάχου μὲν τὸ θρασὺ καὶ ἰταμὸν διαβάλλων, Ἱππίου δὲ τὸ κοῦφον τῆς διανοίας καὶ χαῦνον, καὶ Πρωταγόρου τὸ ἀλαζονικὸν καὶ ὑπέρογκον. ὅπου δὲ ἀόριστα πρόσωπα ἐπεισάγει τοῖς διαλόγοις τῆς μὲν εὐκρινείας ἕνεκεν τῶν πραγμάτων κέχρηται τοῖς προσδιαλεγομένοις οὐδὲν δὲ ἕτερον ἐκ τῶν προσώπων ἐπεισκυκλεῖ ταῖς ὑποθέσεσιν ὅπερ ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις.

[43] Letter 348. Εἰ τὸ κερδαίνειν τοῦτο γριπίζειν λέγεται καὶ τάυτην ἔχει τὴν σημασίαν ἡ λέξις, ἣν ἐκ τῶν Πλάτωνος ἀδύτων ἡ σοφιστική σου ἡμῖν προεχειρίσατο.

four elements, being tangible and visible, earth for its solidity, fire because it is perceptible, and for the rest air and water because of the mixture."[44] These theories are discussed through the seventh book of the Timaeus. As in the case of many of these repetitions of ideas, Basil expresses briefly what the pagan philosopher took a great deal of space to set forth and elucidate. In the second homily Basil states in a sentence a series of half paradoxical ideas that Plato dwells upon prosily in the Phaedo. Plato begins, "And some one of those present, hearing this, said—whoever he was, I do not recall clearly—'By the gods, did we not agree before in our debates on the very opposite of the things now said, that the greater is generated from the less and the less from the greater, and in the case of opposites that this absolutely was their origin, from opposites.' "[45] Plato goes on to talk about opposites and incorrect notions concerning them, wandering through a multitude of other ideas. Perhaps with the same thought in mind, Basil says, "Life does not engender death, darkness is not the origin of light, sickness is not the maker of health."[46] He had been arguing that evil could not come from God, but that like comes from like, and good from good, an idea that Plato clears up after considerable wandering.

In the third homily he returns to Platonic similarities. Writing about the philosophers, he says that "Indeed, they state as a principle that there is only one heaven."[47] The theory of Plato is worded clearly: "Then can we rightly affirm that heaven is one, or would it be more correct to speak of numerous and boundless heavens? One it must be, if it is created according to design."[48]

Again Basil says of the motion of the spheres and of the stars that "These circles, as they (the philosophers) say, being carried in an opposite direction to the motion of the world, and striking

[44] 10, B. καὶ οἱ μὲν σύνθετον αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων εἰρήκασιν ὡς ἁπτὸν ὄντα καὶ ὁρατὸν καὶ μετέχοντα γῆς μὲν διὰ τὴν ἀντιτυπίαν, πυρὸς δὲ διὰ τὸ καθοράσθαι, τῶν δε λοιπῶν διὰ τὴν μίξιν.

[45] Phædo, 103. Καί τις εἶπε τῶν παρόντων ἀκούσας—ὅστις δ' ἦν οὐ σαφῶς μέμνημαι—Πρὸς θεῶν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ἡμῖν λόγοις αὐτὸ τὸ ἐναντίον τῶν νυνὶ λεγομένων ὡμολογεῖτο ἐκ τοῦ ἐλάττονος τὸ μεῖζον γίγνεσθαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μείζονος τὸ ἔλαττον καὶ ἀτέχνως αὕτη εἶναι ἡ γένεσις τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων;

[46] 16, C. οὔτε γὰρ ἡ ζωὴ θάνατον γεννᾷ οὔτε τὸ σκότος φωτός ἐστιν ἀρχὴ οὔτε ἡ νόσος ὑγιείας δημιουργός.

[47] 23, D. Ἕνα γὰρ ὑποτίθενται οὐρανόν.

[48] Timæus, 31, A. πότερον οὖν ὀρθῶς ἕνα οὐρανὸν προσειρήκαμεν ἢ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀπείρους λέγειν ἦν ὀρθότερον; ἕνα εἴπερ κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα δεδημιουργημένος ἔσται.

the aether, make a sweet and harmonious melody not to be equaled by the finest music."[49] There is no doubt that this is from Plato. The idea of the music of the spheres is very old.[50]

In the fourth homily is an idea, also extremely condensed, which Plato gives at length. Speaking of musicians, whom he condemns, Basil says, "The notes of harpers and flute players are filled with sensuality."[51] Plato would have all these piping musicians banished from his ideal state: "What then? Would you admit flute players and flute makers into the state? . . . Certainly not, said he."[52] Most of these finely wrought forms of melody were connected in one way or another with the dissipations of the times, and both Plato and Basil recognized a danger that accompanied them. Basil's remark would be obvious to any one who had acquaintance with Plato and his theories upon government.

In the sixth homily the saint makes use of an expression practically proverbial, but well used by Plato. He mentions those "'Who overstep the bounds,' making scripture their argument for astrological forecasts of birth."[53] The first part of the expression is repeated in Plato: "I seem to be making longer question than is fitting and to be stepping over the bounds."[54] Basil endeavors to impress his hearers with the relativity of sizes: "If you have ever viewed a great flat plain from the peak of a lofty mountain, how large did the team of oxen look to you? And how large did the farmers look? Did they not resemble ants?"[55] Plato in the Phaedo makes use of a similar idea. He speaks of the different parts of the world and argues that they are not so large as the parts then unknown to the Greeks. "Moreover, then," said he, "the earth is very large, and we who inhabit the part from the river Phasis up to the Pillars of Heracles are living in a small part

[49] 24, C. τούτους δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν τῷ παντὶ φερομένους περισχιζομένου τοῦ αἰθέρος αὐτοῖς εὔηχόν τινα καὶ ἐναρμόνιον ἀποδιδόναι φθόγγον ὥστε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν μελωδίαις ἡδονὴν ὑπερβάλλειν.

[50] *Cf.* Republic, 617, 618, for a detailed account of how this music is produced and the motion of the spheres.

[51] 33, A. τὰ τῶν κιθαριστῶν ἢ τὰ τῶν αὐλητῶν κρούματα μιμουμένους.

[52] Republic, 399, D. τί δέ; αὐλοποιοὺς ἢ αὐλητὰς παραδέξῃ εἰς τὴν πόλιν; . . . Δῆλα δὴ, ἦ δ' ὅς.

[53] 54, A. Ἀλλ' οἱ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα πηδῶντες ἐπὶ τὴν συνηγορίαν τῆς γενεθλιαλογίας τὸν λόγον ἕλκουσι.

[54] Cratylus, 413, A. δοκῶ τε ἤδη μακρότερα τοῦ προσήκοντος ἐρωτᾶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα ἅλλεσθαι.

[55] 59, C. Εἴ ποτε ἀπὸ ἀκρωρείας μεγάλης πεδίον εἶδες πολύ τε καὶ ὕπτιον, ἡλίκα μέν σοι τῶν βοῶν κατεφάνη τὰ ζεύγη; πηλίκοι δὲ οἱ ἀροτῆρες αὐτοί; Εἰ μὴ μυρμήκων τινὰ σοὶ παρέσχον φαντασίαν;

around the sea, like frogs or ants around a pond, and elsewhere many other nations live in similar places."[56] The Liber de Spiritu Sancto is of a very technical nature, and the instances that occur here are not at all certainly of a literary nature. Basil remarks in one place upon the balance of the earth and its poise among the heavens in terms like these: "He it is Who holds the earth, surrounding it with His grasp, Who has arranged everything in order and adorned it, Who gave the mountains their poise and divided the waters."[57]

The ideas about the divisions of the water and the poise of the hills are probably scriptural. Plato argues, "Well, then, first of all, I am persuaded, said he, that the earth is a round body in the center of the heavens, and that it has no need of air or any other such force to support it, but the equilibrium of the heavens is sufficient to keep it there, and then, too, there is the equipoise of the earth itself. For anything that is in an equipoise, being in the middle, will not incline in any way—will remain the same, without deviation."[58]

Later Basil makes use of an expression well used in the Platonic vocabulary: "The 'of which' does not always indicate the material as it seems to them (the pagan philosophers)."[59]

It is certain that besides these scattered and more obvious ideas that are partly taken from Plato and sometimes expressed in words borrowed or derived from him, many other passages contain notes that have a striking resemblance. A difficulty is to decide where the relationship of any particular section ceases to be a philosophical influence and begins to be a literary use. Since Basil shows little evidence of being engaged in producing literature with a literary taste or development and no more, while he is deeply interested in the thoughtful side, it is difficult to say how

[56] Phædo, 109, B. Ἔτι τοίνυν ἐφη παμμεγά τι εἶναι αὐτὸ καὶ ἡμᾶς οἰκεῖν τοὺς μέχρι Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἀπὸ Φάσιδος ἐν σμικρῷ τινι μορίῳ ὥσπερ περὶ τέλμα μύρμηκας ἢ βατράχους περὶ τὴν θάλατταν οἰκοῦντας καὶ ἄλλους ἄλλοθι πολλοὺς ἐν πολλοῖσι τοιοῦτοις τόποις οἰκεῖν.

[57] Liber de Spiritu Sancto, 7, C. Οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ συνέχων τὴν γῆν καὶ περιδεδραμένος αὐτῆς. ὁ δὲ εἰς τάξιν πάντα καὶ διακόσμησιν ἀγαγών. ὁ καὶ ὄρεσιν ἰσορροπίαν καὶ ὕδατι μέτρα.

[58] Phædo, 109, A. Πέπεισμαι τοίνυν ἦ δ' ὃς ἐγὼ ὡς πρῶτον μὲν εἰ ἔστιν ἐν μέσῳ τῷ οὐρανῷ περιφερὴς οὖσα μηδὲν αὐτῇ δεῖν μήτε ἀέρος πρὸς τὸ μὴ πεσεῖν μήτε ἄλλης ἀνάγκης μηδεμίας τοιαύτης ἀλλὰ ἱκανὴν εἶναι αὐτὴν ἴσχειν τὴν ὁμοιότητα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ αὐτοῦ ἑαυτῷ πάντη καὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτῆς τὴν ἰσορροπίαν, ἰσόρροπον γὰρ πρᾶγμα ὁμοίδυ τινὸς ἐν μέσῳ τεθὲν οὐχ ἕξει μᾶλλον οὐδ' ἧττον οὐδαμόσε κλιθῆναι ὁμοίως δ' ἔχον ἀκλινὲς μενεῖ.

[59] 5, A. οὐ γὰρ πάντως τὸ ἐξ οὗ τὴν ὕλην σημαίνει καθὼς ἐκείνοις δοκεῖ.

far literary influences are carried. Past question the general style and diction are much affected. A detailed analysis of any large section reveals many striking similarities in the trend of thought, the manner in which an idea is developed, and finally in the syntax.

But examining Basil's use of Plato, as evinced by citing the philosopher's name, the occasional partial quotation, and what was as effective, the occasional condensation of well known Platonic passages, shows that Basil made a general and open use of Plato to a great extent and an undersurface employment that in a hidden and half-conscious way enormously surpasses the visible use. Basil had sounder and more stable premises from which to reason, and the advantage of using the truths of revealed religion as a guide. In all these points a vague similarity is bound to exist, for they reasoned much alike, and in such thinking is always the tendency to use established terms, and for thought to follow well defined channels. These facts result in many places in a certain sameness of presentation. Keeping these points in mind, the true literary influence of Plato upon Basil will perhaps be more clearly recognized and better presented for an understanding of the two men.

3. *Aristotle.*

For the purpose of discussing Aristotle's connection with Basil, it will be best first to consider Basil's references and parallelisms with the Greek in connection with other early thinkers. Thus many of Aristotle's own views come out, expressed principally in the De Caelo and Meteorologica, with observations upon the theories of earlier men who wrote upon the same subjects. Basil gives such passages scant notice, yet it is significant that he always understands well the meaning of the part referred to, thus giving an index to his reading of the whole. Thales, the Milesian; Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Democritus, and Pythagoras, and Xenophanes, of Colophon, are the men brought to light and criticized. Nine instances belonging to this class occur in the Hexaemeron, and two in the Liber de Spiritu Sancto. Four are in the opening homily, and three of these bear upon Aristotle's De Caelo. Basil's remark has to do with the old theory that the earth floated upon a bed of air: "If you say of the earth that it reposes upon a bed of air, you raise a difficulty."[60] Aristotle takes up the idea: "For Anaximenes and Anaxagoras and Democritus say that the

[60] 9, B. Ἐάν τε γὰρ ἀέρα φῇς ὑπερστρῶσθαι πλάτει τῆς γῆς ἀπορήσεις.

cause of its remaining as it is, is the breadth, for it does not cut through, but floats upon the aether that is beneath it.[61] These speculations of Ionian nature philosophy are all repeated more or less throughout early philosophy. Basil notes the theory of Thales: "Again, do you suppose that the earth is supported by water?"[62] But he gives no sign of where he learned it. Aristotle gives it, in speaking of different theories, and mentions the one "Which Thales, the Milesian, held, that the earth remained in space like a log floating, or some such thing, but it is no wise in the nature of these things to float upon air, but upon water."[63]

Another idea from the De Caelo is paralleled when Basil says, in speaking of the immobility of the earth, that "By all necessity it is obliged to remain in its place, unless a movement contrary to nature should displace it."[64] Aristotle develops the idea in treating of the way bodies in motion sink toward a common center, where they remain as long as the conditions stay the same: "And moreover, the motion of the parts and of the whole body itself, according to nature, is toward the center of the whole."[65]

The last instance of Aristotelian usage in the Hexaemeron is a remark about philosophers who tried to get beyond the four elements earth, air, fire and water. After arguing about certain hypotheses concerning them, Basil says, "It is because of the force of these reasons, say the inventors of the fifth kind of body for the genesis of heaven and the stars, that they are constrained to reject the system of their predecessors and have recourse to their own hypothesis."[66] Aristotle recognizes another vague and altogether unfathomable element, but he thinks that it is part of the composition of the soul, and hardly seems to use the notion

[61] De Cælo, II., 13, 16. Ἀναξιμένης δὲ καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ Δημόκριτος τὸ πλάτος αἴτιον εἶναί φασι τοῦ μένειν αὐτὴν. οὐ γὰρ τέμνειν ἀλλ' ἐπιπωματίζειν τὸν ἀέρα τὸν κάτωθεν.

[62] 9, B. Πάλιν ἐὰν ὑποθῇς ἑαυτῷ ὕδωρ εἶναι τὸ ὑποβεβλημένον, τῇ γῇ . . .

[63] De Cælo, II., 13, 13. ὅν φασιν εἰπεῖν Θαλῆν τὸν Μιλήσιον ὡς διὰ τὸ πρωτὴν εἶναι μένουσαν ὥσπερ ξύλον. ἤ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἐπ' ἀέρος μὲν οὐδὲν πέφυκε μένειν ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὕδατος.

[64] 10, D. Πᾶσα γὰρ ἀνάγκη μένειν αὐτὴν κατὰ χώραν ἢ παρὰ φύσιν κινουμένην τῆς οἰκείας ἕδρας ἐξίστασθαι.

[65] De Cælo, II., 14, 5. ἔτι δ' ἡ φορὰ τῶν μορίων καὶ ὅλης αὐτῆς ἡ κατὰ φύσιν ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τοῦ παντός ἐστιν.

[66] 11, D. Διὰ μὲν δὴ ταύτας ὥς φασι τῶν λογισμῶν τὰς ἀνάγκας τοὺς τῶν προαγόντων ἀθετήσαντες λόγους οἰκείας ὑποθέσεως ἐδεήθησαν οἱ πέμπτην σώματος φύσιν εἰς τὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἀστέρων γένεσιν ὑποτιθέμενοι.

in the same sense that Basil would appear to give it: "Therefore, the power of the whole soul seems to participate in another body, more godlike than those things that are called elements. And as souls differ among themselves by nobility or ignobility, such difference, therefore, is the distinction of the body."[67]

Basil criticized Xenophanes, of Colophon. Speaking of the support of the earth, he refers to the idea that it stands upon a base: "Even if we are able to imagine that, our reason will demand another support, and thus we come to the infinite, always imagining a base for the base that is already assumed."[68]

Aristotle offers a reason of Xenophanes' theory. He mentions philosophers who were "Saying that the earth was rooted down to infinity, like Xenophanes, of Colophon, so as not to have the problem of looking for a cause."[69] Plato mentions the same theory, saying, "One man keeps the earth below the heaven by setting a vortex around, and another considers the earth a flat trough, being supported by a base of air."[70]

Basil makes one reference to the Pythagoreans in a sense that closely follows Aristotle's views of them: "They (the pagan philosophers) call a strong body one which is compact and full."[71] It appears that *ναστόν* is taken in the sense of close or firm, as Democritus uses it. Democritus opposes it to *κένον*, empty or void: "Aristotle writes in the first book about Philosophy of Pythagoras that the heavens are one, and that from infinity sprung time, and air, and the void that ever distinguishes the place of each."[72] Other similarities in this homily bear more upon Meteorology:

[67] De Gen, Ani, II., 3, 11. Πάσης μὲν οὖν ψυχῆς δύναμις ἑτέρου σώματος ἔοικε κεκοινωνεκέναι καὶ θειοτέρου τῶν καλουμένων στοιχείων. ὡς δὲ διαφέρουσι τιμιότητι αἱ ψυχαὶ καὶ ἀτιμίᾳ ἀλλήλων, οὕτω καὶ ἡ τοιαύτη διαφέρει φύσις.

[68] 9, C. Κἂν τι δυνηθῶμεν ἐκείνῳ συμπλάσαντες ὑποθεῖναι τὸ ἐκείνου πάλιν ἀντέρεισμα ὁ νοῦς ἡμῶν ἐπιζητήσει, καὶ οὕτως εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκπεσούμεθα τοῖς ἀεὶ εὑρισκομένοις βάθροις ἕτερα πάλιν ἐπινοοῦντες.

[69] De Cælo, II., 13. ἐπ' ἄπειρον αὐτὴν ἐρριζῶσθαι λέγοντες ὥσπερ Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἵνα μὴ πράγματ' ἔχωσι ζητοῦντες τὴν αἰτίαν.

[70] Phædo, 99, B. διὸ δὲ καὶ ὁ μέν τις δίνην περιτιθεὶς τῇ γῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μένειν δὴ ποιεῖ τὴν γῆν. ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ καρδόπῳ πλατείᾳ βάθρον τὸν ἀέρα ὑπερείδει.

[71] 25, D. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔξωθεν στερεὸν λέγουσι σῶμα τὸ οἷον ναστὸν καὶ πλῆρες.

[72] Aristotle, Fragments, No. 201. ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ τῆς Πυθαγόρου φιλοσοφίας πρώτῳ γράφει (Αριστοτέλης) τὸν μὲν οὐρανὸν εἶναι ἕνα, ἐπεισάγεσθαι δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἀπείρου χρόνον τε καὶ πνοὴν καὶ τὸ κενὸν καὶ ὃ διορίζει ἑκάστον τὰς χώρας ἀεί.

"By nature the sun is not fiery, and its heat develops, they affirm, from the speed of its revolution."[73]

Aristotle states at more length the same ideas: "So we see that motion is able to divide the air, and to ignite it so much that very frequently by this motion things appear to be liquefied, and therefore as coolness or heat is thus generated, the rapid motion of the sun is alone able to bring this about."[74] In the same homily the saint gives Aristotle's ideas of the formation of snow: "Water, whipped by the blast of the wind, changes into foam, and passing through excessive cold, freezes completely and, breaking from the cloud, falls as snow."[75] Basil did not pretend to be a scientist, and most of his guesses in this department are taken at second hand. Aristotle has it: "It is likewise with frost and snow. For when a cloud becomes condensed there is snow, and if vapor there is frost."[76] The final instance in the Hexaemeron occurs in the fourth homily. This case is touched by other writers and is difficult to place with accuracy. Speaking of a projected canal at Suez, Basil says, "Thus we have abandoned this undertaking, as also did the Egyptian, Sesostris, who conceived the scheme, and Darius, the Mede, who later planned to complete it."[77] The idea of putting a canal through the isthmus at Suez was an old one and had been tried out by different ancients. Aristotle agrees with the Sesostris theory: "Sesostris is said to have been the first of the ancients to put his hand to this, but he found the sea higher than the land (and hence desisted for fear of flooding the country)."[78]

Herodotus has a different story, which is the same as regards the canal itself, but assigns a different reason for the cessation of efforts and gives another monarch credit for the attempt. "Neco," says Herodotus, "was the son of Psammetichus, and became king

[73] 29, B. Καίτοι γε οὐδὲ θερμὸν εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου φασὶ τὸ θερμὸν· ἐκ τῆς ταχείας εἶναι περιστροφῆς.

[74] Meteor, I., 3, 30. ὁρῶμεν δὴ καὶ κίνησιν ὅτι δύναται διακρίνειν τὸν ἀέρα καὶ ἐκποροῦν ὥστε καὶ τὰ φερόμενα τηκόμενα, φαίνεσθαι πολλάκις. τὸ μὲν οὖν γίγνεσθαι τὴν ἀλέαν καὶ τὴν θερμότητα ἱκανή ἐστι παρασκευάζειν καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου φορὰ μόνον.

[75] 30, B. ὅταν δὲ τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐξαφρισθῇ ταῖς βίαις τῶν ἀνέμων ἀνακοπὲν εἶτα εἰς ἄκρον καταψυχθὲν ὅλον διόλου παγῇ θραυομένου τοῦ νέφους ἡ χιὼν καταφέρεται.

[76] Meteor, I., 9-12. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πάχνη καὶ χιών. ὅταν γὰρ παγῇ τὸ νέφος χιών ἐστιν, ὅταν δ' ἡ ἀτμὶς πάχνη.

[77] 35, C. Διόπερ ἐπέσχον τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ὅ τε πρῶτος ἀρξάμενος Σέσωστρις ὁ Αἰγύπτιος καὶ ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα βουληθεὶς ἐπεξεργάσασθαι Δαρεῖος ὁ Μῆδος.

[78] Meteor, I., 14. λέγεται δὲ πρῶτος Σέσωστρις ἐπιχειρῆσαι τῶν παλαιῶν ἀλλ' εὗρεν ὑψηλοτέραν οὖσαν τὴν θάλατταν τῆς γῆς.

of Egypt. He was the first one to attempt the canal leading into the Red Sea, which Darius, the Persian, afterward dug . . . Neco then ceased in the midst of his digging, because an obstructing prophecy had arisen that he was laboring for a barbarian."[79]

Outside the references already seen are a number of scattered ones, not to the philosophers, but to ideas they promulgated, and to Aristotle himself. The philosopher is named three times. One of these cases has been mentioned under Plato: "Those pagan philosophers who wrote dialogues, Aristotle and Theophrastus, went straight at the matter, knowing that they were not possessed of the graceful style of Plato." Other instances do not introduce comparisons. Two appear in the book against Eunomius. Aristotle's famous reasoning in syllogisms is first mentioned when Basil says, in general "There was need for us to learn of the syllogisms of Aristotle and Chrysippus."[80] The first book of the Analytica Priora is given over to a discussion of syllogistic reasoning. The other case in which Aristotle is named occurs further in the same work: "For there are, concerning habits and privations, the words of Aristotle, who says privations come after habits. Those are able to testify to this who have read the book inscribed with the Categories of Aristotle."[81]

The work that Basil had in mind is the Categories and section from chapter eight to a late part of chapter twelve is taken up with a discussion of habits and privations. The ready reference would indicate Basil's familiarity with the book.

Other notes in Basil's works are of a more indirect nature. One very striking one occurs with reference to the opening section of the Nichomachean Ethics. Basil says, "Hence, well have some men defined the good, as what all men seek."[82] The second sentence of the Ethics begins, "Therefore, well have they defined

[79] Herodotus, II., 158. Ψαμμητίχου δὲ Νεκῶς παῖς ἐγένετο καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου, ὃς τῇ διώρυχι ἐπειχείρησε πρῶτος τῇ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρῆν θάλασσαν φερούσῃ, τὴν Δαρείου ὁ Πέρσης δεύτερα διώρυξε . . . Νεκῶς μὲν νῦν μεταξὺ ὀρύσσων ἐπαύσατο μαντηίου ἐμποδίου γενομένου τοιοῦδε τῷ βαρβάρῳ αὐτὸν προεργάζεσθαι.

[80] Liber adversus Eunomius, 214, C. Ἡ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους ὄντως ἡμῖν καὶ Χρυσίππου συλλογισμῶν ἔδει πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν.

[81] 221, A. Ἀριστοτέλους γὰρ εἰσιν ὡς οἱ ἀνεγνωκότες εἴποιεν ἂν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφομέναις αὐτοῦ Κατηγορίαις. οἱ περὶ ἕξεως καὶ στερήσεως λόγοι δευτέρας εἶναι λέγοντος τῶν ἕξεων τὰς στερήσεις.

[82] 160, A. Διότι καλῶς ὡρίσαντο ἤδη τινὲς ἀγαθὸν εἶναι οὗ πάντα ἐφίεται.

the good, as that at which all men aim."[83] Others have had the same idea, but the concise wording of the two sentences gives them a noticeable resemblance. In the Hexaemeron occurs an example in the opening homily: "Among arts some have as their end production, and some theory."[84] Aristotle, in speaking of arts, says, "Every instance is either practical, poetical or theoretical."[85]

In the opening chapter of the Ethics, Aristotle elaborates an idea much upon the same order. "Every art and every science," he says, "and likewise every activity and every act of choice, seem to aim at something good. Wherefore, well have they defined the good as that at which all men aim. But some distinction appears with reference to the ends. For some are energies and some are certain deeds outside the energies . . ."[86]

In the second homily of the Hexaemeron, Basil gives Aristotle's philosophy in this fashion: "Matter is taken from the outside, art furnishes a form, and the work is thus composed simultaneously of matter and form."[87] Aristotle in his Metaphysics furnishes the germ for this argument: "All things developed are developed from something, and by something."[88] Many of the ideas of the older philosophers were worked over by later thinkers and more fully stated. In the third homily Basil returns to Aristotle: "What He holds as beautiful is that which shows in its perfection all the development of art, and that which points to the utility of its end."[89]

In his Rhetoric the Greek philosopher has developed the idea thus presented: "That is beautiful which is praiseworthy also,

[83] Nichomachean Ethics, I., 1. διὸ καλῶς ἀπεφήναντο τἀγαθὸν οὗ πάντ' ἐφίεται.

[84] 7, A. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν αἱ μὲν ποιητικαὶ λέγονται αἱ δὲ πρακτικαὶ αἱ δὲ θεωρητικαί.

[85] Metaphysics, 5, 1. ὥστ' εἰ πᾶσα διάνοια ἢ πρακτικὴ ἢ ποιητικὴ ἢ θεωρητική.

[86] Nichomachean Ethics, I., 1. πᾶσα τέχνη καὶ πᾶσα μέθοδος ὁμοίως δὲ πρᾶξις τε καὶ προαίρεσις ἀγαθοῦ τινος ἐφίεσθαι δοκεῖ. διὸ καλῶς ἀπεφήναντο τἀγαθὸν οὗ πάντ' ἐφίεται.. διαφορὰ δέ τις φαίνεται τῶν τελῶν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ εἰσιν ἐνέργειαι, τὰ δὲ παρ' αὐτὰς ἔργα τινά.

[87] 13, B. Καὶ ἔστιν ἡ μὲν ὕλη ἔξωθεν παραλαμβανομένη τὸ δὲ εἶδος παρὰ τῆς τέχνης ἐφαρμοζόμενον ἀποτέλεσμα δὲ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν συντιθέμενον ἔκ τε τοῦ εἴδους καὶ τῆς ὕλης.

[88] Metaphysics, VI., 7. πάντα δὲ τὰ γιγνόμενα ὑπό τέ τινος γίγνεται καὶ ἔκ τινος καὶ τι.

[89] 32, C. ἀλλὰ καλὸν τὸ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς τέχνης ἐκτελεσθὲν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ τέλους εὐχρηστίαν σηντεῖνον.

besides being worthy, on its own merit, of choice, or that also which is good, and pleasant, because it is good."[90]

In the eighth homily Basil again touches upon an Aristotelian theme, approaching this time to an idea in the Ethics. Speaking of the community life of birds, he says, "Very many others lead a common life, such as doves, cranes, starlings and daws."[91] The community of daws was a proverb with Aristotle, "daw with daw"[92] being commonly used in very much the same sense as "birds of a feather."

The seven references that occur in the Liber de Spiritu Sancto are all of a largely philosophical nature. Basil remarks upon the shallow systems of the pagan philosophers, "These cautious differences, which inexperienced thinking and empty error have given forth, our opponents in the beginning studied and admired, and then afterward took over these distinctions to the simple and unstudied doctrine of the Spirit, and this is for the disparagement of God, Who is the Word, and for the denial of the Divine Spirit."[93]

Basil's idea is an insistence upon the vast difference between the pagan systems and the philosophy of the Christian life. Aristotle sets forth something of the same theory: "If there is any end for the activities which we choose on account of this end, and such other matters as we choose, and we do not select everything for either reason (for thus we would advance into infinity, as to an empty and vain desire), it is evident that this end must be what is good "and what is best."[94] Discussing the wording employed by pagan philosophers, Basil says, "They have led themselves into this error through their assiduous study of pagan authors, who employed the terms 'of whom' and 'through whom' to matters that were, according to their nature, distinct."[95]

[90] Rhetoric, I., 9, 3. Καλὸν μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ὃ ἂν δι' αὐτὸ αἱρετὸν ὂν ἐπαινετὸν ᾖ, ἢ ὃ ἂν ἀγαθὸν ὂν ἡδὺ ᾖ ὅτι ἀγαθόν.

[91] 73, B. Μυρία δὲ ἄλλα τὸν ἀθροισματικὸν ᾔρηται βίον ὡς περιστεραὶ, καὶ γέρανοι, καὶ ψῆρες, καὶ κολοιοί.

[92] Nichomachean Ethics, VIII., 1, 6. κολοιὸν ποτὶ κολοιόν.

[93] 3, C. ταῦτα μαθόντες καὶ θαυμάσαντες οὗτοι τὰ ἐκ τῆς ματαιότητος καὶ κενῆς ἀπάτης παρατηρήματα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἁπλῆν καὶ ἀτεχνολόγητον τοῦ Πνεύματος διδασκαλίαν μετακομίζουσιν εἰς ἐλάττωσιν μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου ἀθέτησιν δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.

[94] Nichomachean Ethics, I., 1. Εἰ δή τι τέλος ἐστὶ τῶν πρακτῶν ὃ δι' αὐτὸ βουλόμεθα τἆλλα δὲ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μὴ πάντα δι' ἕτερον αἱρούμεθα (πρόεισι γὰρ οὕτω γ' εἰς ἄπειρον ὥστ' εἶναι κενὴν καὶ ματαίαν τὴν ὄρεξιν), δῆλον ὡς τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη τἀγαθὸν καὶ ἄριστον.

[95] 5, A. ὑπηγάγετο μέντοι αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν ἀπάτην ταύτην καὶ ἡ τῶν ἔξωθεν παρατήρησις οἳ τὸ ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὸ δι' οὗ κεχωρισμένοις κατὰ τὴν φύσιν πράγμασι προσδιένειμαν.

The terms and their use, for which Basil lays Aristotle under contribution, are discussed at considerable length in the Metaphysics and Physics of Aristotle.[96] Later derivations and newer meanings that other philosophers might have read into these words are not available, and Basil may have had in mind other and quite different interpretations from the versions propounded by the thinker to whom the first statement can be attributed. But Basil's use of philosophic terms is very much like Aristotle's. For instance, "For thought cannot travel outside 'was' nor imagination beyond 'beginning.'"[97] The term for imagination is Aristotle's and is defined by Aristotle as a movement of the mind, generated by sensation.[98] The ideas of "was" and "beginning" as philosophic terms were old and did not begin with Aristotle. Basil touches a note of the Pythagorean theories, which Aristotle also employs: "The variety of the universe sets forth well the excellence of His might."[99] The Pythagoreans use the same term that Basil employs for the variety, but give it the sense of arrangement: "They (the Pythagoreans) had such acknowledged principles to set forth in the numbers and the concords, and towards such things of the heavens as are affected and drawn, and toward the whole universe, inferring that these things fit the part with reference to the arrangement of the whole."[100]

Again he makes use of an expression that was common among the pagan philosophers. Both the Pythagoreans and others used *συστοιχία* to signify a series of similar things. Aristotle has it in such a connection. Basil says, "When names are classified in the very same series of similar things, what chance is there for naming on this side connumeration and in that subnumeration?"[101] Aristotle uses the same word in the Ethics: "The Pythagoreans would seem to speak more plausibly about this, putting in their

[96] *Cf.* Metaphysics, I., 3, and Physics, II., 3.

[97] 11, A. Ἀνέκβατον μὲν γὰρ διανοίαις τὸ ἦν. ἀνυπέρβατον δὲ φαντασίαις ἀρχή.

[98] De Anima, 429, a. ἡ φαντασία ἂν εἴη κίνησις ὑπὸ τῆς αἰσθήσεως τῆς κατ' ἐνέργειαν γιγνομένη.

[99] 15, A. Liber de Spiritu Sancto. Καὶ ἡ ποικίλη τοῦ παντὸς διακόσμησις τὸ ὑπερέχον τῆς ἰσχύος συνίστησιν.

[100] Metaphysics, 986, a., 5. Καὶ ὅσα εἶχον ὁμολογούμενα δεικνύναι ἔν τε τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἁρμονίαις πρὸς τὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πάθη καὶ μέρη καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὅλην διακόσμησιν ταῦτα συνάγοντες ἐφήμοττον.

[101] 37, A. τίνα οὖν ἔχει χώραν τὸ μὲν συναριθμεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ ὑπαριθμεῖσθαι λέγειν ἐν μιᾷ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ συστοιχίᾳ κατατεταγμένων τῶν ὀνομάτων;

series of the goods."[102] In the twentieth chapter Basil dwells at length upon an idea that Aristotle develops at length in his Politics. Throughout the chapter Basil discusses slavery in a tone much like Aristotle's. The theory is this—that some people are naturally fitted to be slaves, for, being deficient in intelligence, and liable to be cheated or misused by unscrupulous persons, they are better off when attached to a wise and kind master, who will understand their difficulties and care for them properly. The theory was not an uncommon one.[103]

Again in the twenty-sixth chapter Basil borrows an expression from Aristotle: "Form is said to be in matter, power is said to be in what can sustain it, and habit is in one who is moved by it, and so on."[104] Aristotle takes up an entire chapter with a discussion of definitions of matter and form.[105]

Basil offers the following idea on the same lines as it is in Aristotle: "For if you take away the black, cold, weight and density, the characteristics that pertain to perception—in short, what we can see—a substance disappears."[106] Aristotle gives the same thought: "But with the length, and breadth, and depths taken away, we see nothing left, unless that which had been bounded by those qualities."[107]

Speaking of various rivers, Basil is led into an error which Aristotle also commits. Basil says, "Others from the higher regions of the South flow through Aethiopia and discharge themselves, some into the outer sea and some into inaccessible seas—the Aegon, the Nyses and the Chremetes."[108] Aristotle writes, "And in like fashion those rivers flowing through Libya, from the mountains of Aethiopia, the Aegon, the Nyses, and the Chremetes

[102] Nichomachean Ethics, I., 6, 7. Πιθανώτερον δ' ἐοίκασιν οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι λέγειν περὶ αὐτοῦ τιθέντες ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀγαθῶν συστοιχίᾳ τὸ ἕν.

[103] *Cf.* Aristotle, Politics, I., sec. 5.

[104] 51, B. λέγεται μὲν οὖν τὸ εἶδος ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ εἶναι καὶ ἡ δύναμις ἐν τῷ δεστικῷ καὶ ἡ ἕξις ἐν τῷ κατ' αὐτὴν διακειμένῳ καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα.

[105] *Cf.* Metaphysics, VI., 7.

[106] 9, B. Ἐὰν γὰρ ἀποστήσῃς τὸ μέλαν, τὸ ψυχρὸν, τὸ βαρὺ τὸ πυκνὸν τὰς κατὰ γεῦσιν ἐνυπαρχούσας αὐτῇ ποιότητας ἢ εἴ τινες ἄλλαι περὶ αὐτὴν θεωροῦνται οὐδὲν ἔσται τὸ ὑποκείμενον.

[107] Metaphysics, VI., 3. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀφαιρουμένου μήκους καὶ πλάτους καὶ βάθους οὐδὲν ὁρῶμεν ὑπολειπόμενον πλὴν εἴ τι ἔστι τὸ ὁριζόμενον ὑπὸ τούτων.

[108] 28, A. Ἄλλοι ἐκ τῆς μεσημβρίας ἄνωθεν διὰ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔρχονται θάλασσαν οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἔξω τῆς πλεομένης ἀποκενοῦνται. ὅ τε Αἰγών καὶ ὁ Νύσης καὶ ὁ καλούμενος Χρεμέτης.

the greatest of them."[109] There are no large rivers in the section Basil had in mind, and the streams that flow from upper Egypt fall into the Nile. The remaining mass of reference and evident parallelism from Aristotle is practically all from the Hexaemeron and is very largely taken up with a discussion of birds and fishes and animals in the different days of creation. The ideas were all taken from some easily available natural history or from memory, and may have been learned in any of a great number of ways. Such references are treacherous, for while indicating a possible great familiarity with Aristotle's book, they do not by any means give conclusive proof of this, or even that conscious reference occurs. There is always the underlying possibility that they may be folklore or stories of personal observation.

Basil's whole address of the Hexaemeron is intended for a polished and effective homily, and it is to be presumed that such a scholar would reinforce his address with such literary assistance as he could bring to bear without obviously overdoing the matter.

He has his natural history allusions roughly divided into three groups. They consist of stories and remarks about fishes or other marine creatures, birds, and land animals. Basil dwells at length upon the virtues of the bee: "Imitate the talent peculiar to the bee, who, hurting none nor destroying alien fruit, collects its honey." Again, "Whence it (honey) was liquid from the first and in process of time was collected." And again, "The king bee has a sting, but does not use it to revenge himself."[110] All these ideas are found in Aristotle: "So, indeed, it makes honey, as I have related . . . Spreading its wings in haste, the honey is collected, for from the beginning such water existed, and after some days it is a liquid . . . Bees have a sting, but drones do not. King bees have a sting, but do not use it, wherefore some think that they do not have them."[111] The theme of the bees and their

[109] Meteorologia, I., 13. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν Λιβύην οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν ὀρῶν ὅ τε Αἰγὼν καὶ ὁ Νύσης οἱ δὲ μέγιστοι τῶν διωνομασμένων ὅ τε Χρεμέτης καλούμενος.

[110] 74, A., B. Μίμησαι τῆς μελίσσης τὸ ἰδιότροπον ὅτι οὐδενὶ λυμαινομένη, οὐδὲ καρπὸν ἀλλότριον διαφθείρουσα τὰ κηρία συμπήγνυται . . . ὅθεν καὶ ὑγρὸν παρὰ τὴν πρώτην ἔστιν εἶτα τῷ χρόνῳ συμπεθὲν . . . ἔστι μὲν γὰρ κέντρον τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀλλ' οὐ χρῆται τούτῳ πρὸς ἄμυναν.

[111] Hist. Anim., 553, b., 31, 553, b., 29, 554, a., 13. These and many similar ideas appear throughout these passages. Τὸ μὲν οὖν κηρίον ποιεῖ ὥσπερ εἴρηται ἐκ τῶν ἀνθέων . . . συνίσταται δὲ τὸ μέλι πεττόμενον. ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ οἷον ὕδωρ γίνεται καὶ ἐφ' ἡμέρας μέν τινας ὑγρὸν ἔστιν . . . κέντρον δ' αἱ μέλιτται ἔχουσιν οἱ δὴ κηφῆνες οὐκ ἔχουσιν. οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνες ἔχουσι μὲν κέντρον ἀλλ' οὐ τύπτουσι, διὸ ἔνιοι οὐκ οἴονται ἔχειν αὐτούς.

diligence, their many activities and their common government was a favorite one in antiquity. Isocrates concludes a well rounded period in an address to Demonicus with a comparison based upon the bees, and Basil reminds his hearers that the "Book of Proverbs has given the bee great and honorable praise."[112]

The only other reference to insects is, "Thus, then, ladies, when you are seated and busy with weaving—I mean the silk sent from the Chinese for making delicate dresses—bear in mind the development of the creature, and you will have clearly the idea of the resurrection."[113] The idea of the chrysalis is explained clearly by Aristotle: "From a great worm which has horns, and differs from others, first changing it becomes a caterpillar, then a chrysalis, and then from this a necydalos."[114] The precise stage Aristotle means by necydalos is not certain.

Animal references are comparatively few and scattered. One is in the Oratio de Hominis Structura: "Thus we see dogs eating grass for the sake of their health, not because that is the regular food for them according to nature, but by a certain instinct animals are led to what is suitable for their disorder."[115] Aristotle explains it: "At other times they (wild animals) do not take grass, but when they are sick they eat it."[116]

The story of the hedgehog shifting in his den, according to changes in the wind, is well known: "If the south wind succeeds, the animal passes to his northern door."[117]

Aristotle tells it more fully: "The perception of the hedgehogs may be learned in many ways, for with the north wind blowing, or the south wind, they change their holes, and those reared in dwellings change their walls, so that those people in Byzantium

[112] 74, C. Καλῶν καὶ πρεπόντων αὕτη τῶν ἐπαίνων παρὰ τῆς Παροιμίας τετύχηκε.

[113] 79, D. ὅταν οὖν καθέζησθε τὴν τούτων ἐργασίαν ἀναπηνιζόμεναι αἱ γυναῖκες τὰ νήματα λέγω ἃ πέμπουσιν ἡμῖν οἱ Σῆρες πρὸς τὴν τῶν μαλακῶν ἐνδυμάτων κατασκευὴν μεμνημέναι τῆς κατὰ τὸ ζῷον τοῦτο μεταβολῆς, ἐναργῆ λαμβάνετε τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἔννοιαν.

[114] Hist. Anim., 551, b., 9. ἐκ δέ τινος σκώληκος μεγάλου ὃς ἔχει οἷον κέρατα καὶ διαφέρει τῶν ἄλλων γίγνεται πρῶτον μὲν μεταβάλλοντος τοῦ σκώληκος κάμπη ἔπειτα βομβυλὶς ἐκ δὲ τούτου νεκύδαλος.

[115] 340, B. καὶ οἷα ὁρῶμεν κύνας θεραπείας ἕνεκεν πολλάκις ἄγρωστιν ἐπινεμομένους οὐκ ἐπειδὴ συμφυὴς αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἡ τροφὴ ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἀδιδάκτῳ τινὶ φύσεως διδασκαλίᾳ ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον ἔρχεται τὰ ἄλογα.

[116] Hist. Anim., 594, a., 29, ff. πόας δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν οὐχ ἅπτονται ὅταν δὲ κάμνουσι καθάπερ καὶ αἱ κύνες ἐσθίουσι.

[117] 83, B. νότου δὲ πάλιν μεταλαμβάνοντος εἰς τὴν προάρκτιον μεταβαίνοντα.

say a certain person, from observing the hedgehog doing these things, made forecasts, acquiring a great reputation."[118]

Drawing distinctions among animals, Basil writes, "Man, your head is erect toward the heaven, your eyes can look up."[119] Aristotle gives it: "Of all living things, man is the only one that is erect."[120]

The longevity of the elephant is noted: "We are told that the elephant lives three hundred years and more."[121] Aristotle has it: "Some say that the elephant lives two hundred years, some say three hundred."[122]

Discussing fish and marine animals, Basil says, "The species of testacea is of another kind, as muscles, scallops, sea snails, conches, and many varieties of oysters, and besides these kinds there are the other kinds, which are called crustaceans, like lobsters, crabs and creatures similar to them. After this the soft-shelled class."[123] The grouping is Aristotle's: "Of the testaceans there is another race called ostrean (oyster family), and one of the crustaceans which is without a name, such are lobsters and the whole race of crabs and crayfish, and there is another race of mollusks."[124] Of marine animals, Basil says, "There are dolphins and seals, which, it is said, receive their young, when recently born and delicate, into their stomachs. This is for purposes of protection or when the young have been terrified by anything."[125] Basil may have heard vague stories about animals, such as the kangaroo, which carries its young in a pouch. Aristotle writes, "The dolphin and the seal

[118] Hist. Anim., 551, b., 9. Περὶ δὲ τῆς τῶν ἐχίνων αἰσθήσεως συμβέβηκε πολλαχοῦ τεθεωρεῖσθαι ὅτι μεταβαλλόντων βορέων καὶ νότων οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ γῇ τὰς ὀπὰς αὐτῶν μεταμείβουσιν οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις τρεφόμενοι μεταβάλλουσι πρὸς τοὺς τοίχους ὥστ' ἐν Βυζαντίῳ γε τινά φασι προλέγοντα λαβεῖν δόξαν ἐκ τοῦ κατανενοηκέναι ποιοῦντα ταῦτα τὸν ἐχῖνον.

[119] 81, A. Ἡ σὴ κεφαλὴ πρὸς οὐρανὸν διανέστηκεν. οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου τὰ ἄνω βλέπουσιν.

[120] Part. Anim., 689, b., 11. διότι μόνον ἔστιν ὀρθὸν τῶν ζῷων ἄνθρωπος.

[121] 86, B. Νῦν δὲ ἤδη τινὲς ἱστοροῦσι καὶ τριακόσια ἔτη καὶ πλείω τούτων βιοῦν τὸν ἐλέφαντα.

[122] Hist. Anim., 596, 12. τὸν δ' ἐλέφαντα ζῆν οἱ μὲν περὶ ἔτη διακοσία φάσιν, οἱ δὲ τριακοσία.

[123] 64, C. Ἄλλου γένους ἐστὶ τὰ ὀστρακόδερμα προσαγορευόμενα οἷον κόγχαι, καὶ κτένες καὶ κοχλίαι θαλάσσιοι, καὶ στρόμβοι καὶ αἱ μυρίαι τῶν ὀστρέων διαφοραί. Ἄλλο πάλιν παρὰ ταῦτα γένος τὰ μαλακόστρακα προσειρημένα, κάραβοι, καὶ καρκῖνοι, καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις.

[124] Hist. Anim., 490, b. ἄλλο δὲ γένος ἐστὶ τὸ τῶν ὀστρακοδέρμων ὃ καλεῖται ὄστρεον. ἄλλο τὸ τῶν μαλακοστράκων, ἀνώνυμον ἐνὶ ὀνόματι, οἷον κάραβοι καὶ γένη τινὰ καρκίνων καὶ ἀστακῶν. ἄλλο τὸ τῶν μαλακίων.

[125] 64, A. δελφίνες καὶ φῶκαι ἃ καὶ νεαροὺς ἔτι τοὺς σκύμνους διαπτοηθέντας ὑπὸ αἰτίας τινὸς, λέγεται πάλιν τῇ γαστρὶ ὑποδεχόμενα περιστέλλειν.

give milk and suckle their young and take them in again when they are small."[126] Basil repeats the idea about seals in the following: "Are not those animals included which give living birth like the seals, dolphins and torpedoes, and those like them, which are called cartilaginous?"[127] In Aristotle it is, "Some animals give living birth as the human being, the seal, the horse and others that have hair, and of the marine creatures the whale, the dolphin and such are called cartilaginous."[128] A last similarity in their views of marine animals occurs when Basil says of eels, "Their genesis is from the earth."[129] Akin to this is the superstition about toads springing from the earth after a rain. And Basil says again in reference to field mice, "Around Egyptian Thebes after a heavy rain in hot weather the ground is covered with field mice."[130] The very natural explanation that the mice were forced out of their burrows by the sudden inflow of rainwater and thus compelled to appear in the open, which they would never have done under other circumstances, does not seem to have occurred to him. The remark about rain at Thebes in Egypt seems peculiar, in view of Herodotus' statement: "When Psammenitus, son of Amasis, reigned as king, a prodigy happened to the Egyptians, the greatest that had ever happened, for rain fell at Egyptian Thebes where rain had never fallen before, nor did it fall afterward down to my time. The Thebans tell this themselves, because in upper Egypt no rain falls at all, but on the occasion I mention rain fell in a drizzle."[131] Either Herodotus was misinformed or the climate had changed in Basil's time. But if rain rarely fell it would be all the more natural that wild animals should have made little provision against it and, being caught unawares, would be compelled to appear on the surface. Concerning the whole theory of animals being generated spontaneously from the earth when conditions are favorable, Aristotle has probably supplied Basil's idea, for he says,

[126] Hist. Anim., 566, b., 16. ἔχει δ' ὁ δελφὶς καὶ ἡ φώκη γάλα καὶ θηλάζονται. καὶ εἰσδέχονται τὰ τέκνα μικρὰ ὄντα.

[127] 63, D. οὐ τὰ ζωοτοκοῦντα οἷον φῶκαι καὶ δελφῖνες καὶ νάρκαι, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις τὰ σελάχη λεγόμενα.

[128] Hist. Anim., 489, a., 35. ζωοτόκα μὲν οἷον ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἵππος καὶ φώκη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἔχει τρίχας καὶ τῶν ἐνύδρων τὰ κητώδη, οἷον δελφὶς καὶ τὰ καλούμενα σελάχη.

[129] 81, A. ἄλλ' ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἡ γένεσις.

[130] 81, D. ὅπου γε περὶ Θήβας τὰς Αἰγυπτίας, ἐπειδὰν ὕσῃ λάβρως ἐν καύμασιν, εὐθὺς ἀρουραίων μυῶν ἡ χώρα καταπληροῦται.

[131] Herodotus, III., 10. ἐπὶ Ψαμμηνίτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου φάσμα Αἰγυπτίοισι μέγιστον δὴ ἐγένετο. ὕσθησαν γὰρ Θῆβαι αἱ Αἰγύπτιαι οὔτε πρότερον οὐδαμὰ ὑσθεῖσαι, οὔτε ὕστερον τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ ὡς λέγουσιν αὐτοὶ Θηβαῖοι, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὕεται τὰ ἄνω τῆς Αἰγυπτίου τὸ παράπαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ὕσθησαν αἱ Θῆβαι ψακάδι.

"Evidently the matter is thus: In certain muddy lakes, when all the water is exhausted and the mud smoothed, as soon as there is a heavy rain eels spring forth again. They are not born during droughts, nor in perennial lakes. But they live and are nourished by rainwater, and therefore it is evident that they are not born by mating nor from eggs."[132] Referring to the preferences of fish for fresh water, Basil says of the north sea that "Its water is sweeter than that of other parts of the sea, because the sun does not stay there so long, and its rays do not evaporate all the drinkable particles, and even sea creatures love fresh water. Thus, one often sees them enter rivers and swim up from the sea."[133] Aristotle phrases it: "On account of the influx of rivers, the sea water is sweeter, and as the rivers bring down much nourishment many of the fish swim up into these rivers."[134] Basil writes, "Are not those classes included that lay eggs, as almost all kinds of fish?"[135] Aristotle says explicitly, "The nature of fishes is oviparous."[136] Speaking of their migrations and their visits to various breeding places, Basil has, "Of all the gulfs, the Pontus is the most suitable for them as being most fit for breeding and nourishing their young."[137] Aristotle gives it: "The fish swim into the Pontus because of the nourishment and for their young, because these places are suitable for breeding, and the fresh and sweet water nourishes their offspring."[138] Continuing the idea, Basil says of the departure, "When what was desired has been fully fulfilled, then all of them in a convoy turn back again homeward."[139] Aris-

[132] Hist. Anim., 570, a., 7. φανερὸν δ' ἐστὶν ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει. ἐν ἐνίαις γὰρ τελματώδεσι λίμναις τοῦ θ' ὕδατος παντὸς ἐξαντληθέντος καὶ τοῦ πηλοῦ ξυσθέντος γίγνονται πάλιν ὅταν ὕδωρ γένηται ὄμβριον. ἐν δὲ τοῖς αὐχμοῖς οὐ γίγνονται οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς διαμενούσαις λίμναις. καὶ γὰρ ξῶσι καὶ τρέφονται ὀμβρίῳ ὕδατι. ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὔτ' ἐξ ὀχείας οὔτ' ἐξ ὠῶν γίγνονται φανερόν ἐστιν.

[133] 67, B. Γλυκύτερον γὰρ τῆς λοιπῆς θαλάσσης ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὕδωρ διότι ἐπ' ὀλίγον αὐτῇ προσδιατρίβων ὁ ἥλιος οὐκ ἐξάγει αὐτῆς ὅλον διὰ τῆς ἀκτίνος πόταμον. χαίρει δὲ τοῖς γλυκέσι καὶ τὰ θαλάσσια. ὅθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἀνανήχεται πολλάκις καὶ πόρρω θαλάσσης φέρεται.

[134] Hist. Anim., 601, b., 16. διὰ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ποταμῶν γλυκύτερον τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τροφὴν οἱ ποταμοὶ καταφέρουσι πολλήν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἀναπλέουσι πολλοὶ τῶν ἰχθύων.

[135] 63, A. οὐ τὰ ὠοτόκα ἅπερ ἐστὶ πάντα σχεδὸν τῶν ἰχθύων τὰ γένη;

[136] De Gen. Ani. ἔτι δ' ἐστὶν ὠοτόκον τὸ τῶν ἰχθύων γένος.

[137] 67, B. ἐκ τούτου προτιμότερος αὐτοῖς ὁ Πόντος τῶν λοιπῶν ἐστὶ κόλπων ὡς ἐπιτήδειος ἐναποκυῆσαι καὶ ἐκ θρέψαι τὰ ἔκγονα.

[138] Hist. Anim., 598, b., 3. εἰσπλέουσι δ' εἰς τὸν Πόντον διά τε τὴν τροφὴν . . . διά τε δὴ τὴν τροφὴν εἰσπλέουσι καὶ διὰ τὸν τόκον. τόποι γάρ εἰσιν ἐπιτήδειοι ἐντίκτειν καὶ τὸ πότιμον καὶ τὸ γλυκύτερον ὕδωρ ἐκτρέφει τὰ κυήματα.

[139] 67, B. Ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὸ σπουδαζόμενον ἀρκούντως ἐκπληρωθῇ πάλιν πανδημεὶ πάντες ὑποστρέφουσιν οἴκαδε.

totle writes, "When they have finished breeding and accomplished what was designed, they straightway swim out again with the Pleiades."[140] In discussing their habits of breathing, Basil again relies upon Aristotle: "With them the motion of the gills in opening and shutting in succession, and inhaling and exhaling the water takes the place of respiration."[141] The original has it, "Wherefore none of the fish have lungs, but in place of these they have gills, just as I have said in those matters concerning breathing. They are cooled by the water as those who respire are by the air. Wherefore, all things that respire have lungs."[142] Basil develops the thought more fully when he says, "What air is to the terrestrial animals, water is to those that swim. The cause is evident. A lung lies in us, a thin and porous membrane which takes in the air by the distention of the chest and thus cools and airs our internal heat, and the distention and contraction of the gills in those creatures that inhale and exhale water takes the place of this form of respiration."[143] Aristotle has it, "From these things it is evident, and through what cause it happens, to breathers among animals, to be choked in the water, and to fishes in the air. To one the coolness, indeed, comes through the water and to one through the air, and either of these being changed from its place is deprived of its natural resources for breathing. And the cause of the movement of the gills among some and of the breath with others is the rising and collapse in some of the exhalation and inspiration, and in others of the receiving and expelling of the water."[144] Basil speaks of the manner of feeding or of the food

[140] Hist. Anim., 598, b., 6. ὅταν δὲ τέκωσι καὶ τὰ γενόμενα αὐξηθῇ ἐκπλέουσιν εὐθὺς μετὰ Πλειάδα.

[141] 63, B. ἐκείνοις δὲ ἡ τῶν βραγχίων διαστολὴ καὶ ἐπιπτύξις δεχομένων τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ διιέντων τὸν τῆς ἀναπνοῆς λόγον ἀποπληροῖ.

[142] De Part. Anim., III., 6. διόπερ τῶν μὲν ἰχθύων οὐδεὶς ἔχει πλεύμονα ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τούτου βράγχια καθάπερ εἴρηται ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἀναπνοῆς. ὕδατι γὰρ ποιεῖται τὴν κατάψυξιν τὰ δ' ἀναπνέοντα τῷ ἀέρι διόπερ πάντα τὰ ἀναπνέοντα ἔχει πλεύμονα.

[143] 63, B. ἀλλ' ὅπερ τοῖς χερσαίοις ἔστιν ἀὴρ τοῦτο τῷ πλωτῷ γένει τὸ ὕδωρ. καὶ ἡ αἰτία δήλη. ὅτι ἡμῖν μὲν ὁ πνεύμων ἔγκειται ἀραιὸν καὶ πολύπορον σπλάγχνον ὁ διὰ τῆς τοῦ θώρακος διαστολῆς τὸν ἀέρα δεχόμενον τὸ ἔνδον ἡμῶν θερμὸν διαρριπίζει καὶ ἀναψύχει.

[144] De Respiratione, 19. Δῆλον δ' ἐκ τούτων καὶ διὰ τίν' αἰτίαν τοῖς μὲν ἀναπνέουσι τῶν ξῴων ἀποπνίγεσθαι συμβαίνει ἐν τῷ ὑγρῷ τοῖς δ' ἰχθύσιν ἐν τῷ ἀέρι, τοῖς μὲν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος ἡ κατάψυξις γίνεται τοῖς δὲ διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος ὧν ἑκάτερα στερίσκεται μεταβάλλοντα τοὺς τόπους. ἡ δ' αἰτία τῆς κινήσεως τοῖς μὲν τῶν βραγχίων τοῖς δὲ τοῦ πνεύμονος ὧν αἱρομένων καὶ συνιζόντων τὰ μὲν ἐκπλέουσι καὶ εἰσπνέουσι τὰ δὲ δέχονται τὸ ὑγρὸν καὶ ἐξιᾶσιν ἔτι δ' ἡ σύστασις τοῦ ὀργάνου τόν δ' ἔχει τὸν τρόπον.

of fishes upon four occasions. He begins once, as follows: "The majority of fishes feed upon each other, and the smaller among them is food for the greater."[145] For the first half of the statement Aristotle says, "They all eat each other, except the pike and conger eel."[146] While continuing the idea of their carnivorous habits he again says, "The stronger make war upon the lesser ones, for they devour them."[147] Again Basil says, "Food in the case of various fishes is divided according to race—some draw their nourishment from the mud and some from sea weeds, and some are satisfied with the herbs that are nourished in the water."[148] Aristotle has three statements closely connected in his text: "Some fish feed upon their own offspring at the time when they are born, and they have no other food . . . The pike is nourished by sea weeds and in the sand . . . The capitones feed upon the mud . . . But the river fish find food eating each other and herbs and roots and whatever they can take from the slime."[149] Aristotle's remark does not agree with modern versions of the pike's habits, which make it so savage and carnivorous that no other fish can exist in the same streams. In reference to the feeding of fish, Basil says that "They all have a very sharp row of teeth, which are set closely together so that their food may not escape in time that they are chewing it."[150] Aristotle gives it, "All of them have sharp teeth, so that they are able to tear, and tear quickly. For they do not spend time in consuming."[151] Before making this statement Basil notes that "None among these fish ruminate except the scar."[152] Aristotle explains it, "But of

[145] 65, c. 'Αλληλοφάγοι δὲ τῶν ἰχθύων οἱ πλεῖστοι. καὶ ὁ μικρότερος παρ' ἐκείνοις βρῶμά ἐστι τοῦ μείζονος.

[146] Hist. Anim., 591, a., 17. ἀλληλοφαγοῦσι δὲ πάντες μὲν πλὴν κεστρέως μάλιστα δ' οἱ γόγγροι.

[147] Hist. Anim., 610, b., 17. ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ἔστι τοῖς κρείττοσι πρὸς τοὺς ἥττους κατεσθίει γὰρ ὁ κρείττων.

[148] 65, C. τροφὴ δὲ ἰχθύσιν ἄλλοις ἄλλη κατὰ γένος διωρισμένη. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἰλύι τρέφονται οἱ δὲ τοῖς φυκίοις. ἄλλοι ταῖς βοτάναις ταῖς ἐν τρεφομέναις τῷ ὕδατι ἀρκοῦνται.

[149] Hist. Anim., 591, a., 7, 591, a., 22, 592, a., 24. οἱ δ' ἰχθύες τοῖς μὲν κυήμασι τρέφονται πάντες ὅταν οἱ χρόνοι καθήκωσιν οὗτοι τὴν δ' ἄλλην τροφὴν οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ποιοῦνται πάντες . . . τρέφεται δὲ πᾶς κεστρεὺς φυκίοις καὶ ἄμμῳ . . . οἱ δὲ κέφαλαι νέμονται τὴν ἰλύν . . . τροφῇ δὲ καὶ οἱ ποταμίοι χρῶνται ἀλλήλους τ'ἐσθίοντες καὶ βοτάνας καὶ 'ρίζας κἄν τι ἐν τῷ βορβόρῳ λάβωσιν.

[150] 64, C. πάντα δὲ ὀξυτάταις ἄκμαις ὀδόντων καταπεπύκνωται ἵνα μὴ τῇ χρονίᾳ μασήσει ἡ τροφὴ διαρρέῃ.

[151] De Part, Ani., 675, a., 5. ὀξεῖς δὲ πάντες ἔχουσιν ὥστε διελεῖν μὲν δύνανται φαύλως δὲ διελεῖν. ἐνδιατρίβειν γὰρ οὐχ οἷον τε χρονίζοντας.

[152] 64, C. οὐδὲ γὰρ μηρυκίζει τι παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰ μὴ τὸν σκάρον μόνον ἱστοροῦσί τινες.

fish it seems that the one called the scar is the only one that ruminates like quadrupeds."[153] Basil uses the same classification for animals that Aristotle gives: "Some are called Schizoptera, as eagles, and some Dermoptera, as bats, and others Ptilota, as wasps; others Coleoptera, as beetles."[154] These terms are taken from Aristotle, who uses them repeatedly in defining different varieties.[155] Basil's ideas about animals are introduced gracefully and serve to bring out his idea effectively. In many cases they can be traced directly to Aristotle, though not, of course, with absolute certainty. For instance, Basil says about the partridge, "The partridge is deceitful and jealous, lending traitorous help to the hunters to seize their prey."[156] Aristotle, without giving any comment upon the nature of the partridge, explains the hunting case as follows: "But the guide (a tame partridge), taking his stand in front of a partridge from among the wild ones, as if about to fight, hastens the hunters."[157] The use of decoys is very ancient and, of course, afforded the rhetorician opportunity for a great display of feeling. Remarking upon the hooked beaks and talons of birds of prey, Basil says, "Swooping easily upon their prey, they tear apart their food after having seized it."[158] Aristotle says, "Such of the birds as are carnivorous have hooked beaks."[159] Basil discusses the migratory birds: "There is this distinction among them, that some are of the country itself and do not leave it, and some will undertake to journey for great distances, and the majority of them will migrate at the approach of winter."[160] Aristotle says, "Some, indeed, find places of refuge in the localities in which they are, some go forth from those places after the autumnal equinox from the Pontus and the cold regions, . . .

[153] Hist. Anim., 591, b., 23. δοκεῖ δὲ τῶν ἰχθύων ὁ καλούμενος σκάρος μηρυκάζειν ὥσπερ τὰ τετράποδα μόνος.

[154] 72, C. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὠνόμασαν σχιζόπτερα, ὡς τοὺς ἀετούς. τὰ δὲ δερμόπτερα ὡς τὰς νυκτερίδας. τὰ δὲ πτιλωτὰ ὡς τοὺς σφῆκας, τὰ δὲ κολεόπτερα ὡς τοὺς κανθάρους.

[155] *Cf.* Hist. Anim., 489, b., and 490, a.

[156] 73, C. Δολερὸν ὁ πέρδιξ καὶ ζηλότυπον, κακούργως συμπράττων τοῖς θηρατοῖς πρὸς τὴν ἄγραν.

[157] Hist. Anim., 614, a. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν θηρευτὴν πέρδικα ὠθεῖται τῶν ἀγρίων ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἀντάσας ὡς μαχούμενος.

[158] 73, A. ὥστε καὶ συλληφθῆναι ῥᾳδίως τὸ θήραμα καὶ διασπαραγὲν, τροφὴν τῷ ἑλόντι γενέσθαι.

[159] Hist. Anim., 592, a. τῶν δ' ὀρνίθων ὅσοι μὲν γαμψώνυχες σαρκοφάγοι πάντες εἰσί.

[160] 73, B. Ἤδη δέ τις καὶ ἑτέρα ἐν τούτοις ἐστὶ διαφορὰ καθ' ἣν τὰ μὲν ἐπιδημητικά τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἐγχώρια τὰ δὲ ἀπαίρειν πέφυκε πορρωτάτω καὶ χειμῶνος ἐγγίζοντος ἐκτοπίζειν ὡς τὰ πολλά.

fleeing the approaching winter."[161] A bird like the eagle would naturally attract much attention and has long been a favorite theme for rhetoricians: "In the rearing of its young the eagle is most unfair, for though it hatches but two young ones, it hurls one of these out upon the earth, throwing it down with blows of its wings. And though it takes the care of the other upon itself, while the survivor is still growing, it leaves the other young bird because of the difficulty of finding food. But, as they say, the osprey will not permit the fallen bird to perish, but picking it up, rears it along with its own young ones."[162] The same theme is treated by Aristotle: "The eagle lays three eggs, but abandons two of these, as is told in the verse of Musaeus, 'Which hatches out three, abandons two, and cares for one.' "[163] The rest of the story, about the fish hawk, is told at another point: "That bird called the fish hawk, being well disposed and of a diligent nature, a food carrier and gentle, rears both its own young ones and the eagle's, for when the eagle casts out its young prematurely, not being far enough in life and not able to fly, the eagle seems to cut off its young through jealousy, as it is by nature jealous and greedy, and rapacious in grasping whatever it may take. Accordingly it envies its nestling young when they become large eaters and can tear with their claws. Then the young fight with each other for places and food. So, it strikes and throws them out, and they, falling, scream, and the fish hawk picks them up."[164] Discussing birds that

[161] Hist. Anim., 596, b., 29. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς συνήθεσι τόποις εὑρίσκεται τὰς βοηθείας τὰ δ' ἐκτοπίζει μετὰ μὲν τὴν φθινοπωρινὴν ἰσημερίαν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τῶν ψυχρῶν τόπων φεύγοντα τὸν ἐπίοντα χειμῶνα.

[162] 76, C. Ἀδικώτατος περὶ τὴν ἐκγόνων ἐκτροφὴν ὁ ἀετός. Δύο γὰρ ἐξαγαγὼν νεοσσοὺς τὸν ἕτερον αὐτῶν εἰς γῆν καταρρήγνυσι ταῖς πληγαῖς τῶν πτερῶν ἀπωθούμενος. τὸν δὲ ἕτερον μόνον ἀναλαβών, οἰκειοῦται, διὰ τὸ τῆς τροφῆς ἐπίπονον ἀποποιούμενος δν ἐγέννησεν. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐᾷ τοῦτον ὥς φασι διαφθαρῆναι ἡ φήνη. Ἀλλ' ὑπολαβοῦσα αὐτὸν τοῖς οἰκείοις ἑαυτῆς νεοσσοῖς συνεκτρέφει.

[163] Hist. Anim., 563, a., 17. Ὁ δ' ἀετός ᾠὰ μὲν τίκτει τρία ἐκλέπει δὲ τούτων τὰ δύο ὥσπερ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Μουσαίου λεγομένοις ἔπεσιν, ὃς τρία μὲν τίκτει, δύο ἐκλέπει, ἓν δ' ἀλεγίζει.

[164] Hist. Anim., 619, b., 23. ἡ δὲ καλουμένη φήνη ἔστιν εὔτεκνος καὶ εὐβίοτος καὶ δειπνοφόρος καὶ ἥπιος καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐκτρέφει καὶ τὰ αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἀετοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ταῦθ' ὅταν ἐκβάλῃ, ἐκείνη ἀναλαβοῦσα τρέφει. ἐκβάλλει ὁ ἀετὸς πρὸ ὥρας ἔτι βίου δεόμενα καὶ οὔπω δυνάμενα πέτεσθαι. ἐκβάλλειν δὲ δοκεῖ ὁ ἀετὸς τοὺς νεοττοὺς διὰ φθόνον. φύσει γάρ ἐστι φθονερὸς καὶ ὀξύπεινος, ἔτι ὁ ὀξυλαβής. λαμβάνει δὲ μέγα ὅταν λάβῃ. φθόνει οὖν τοῖς νεοττοῖς καὶ ἀδρυνομένοις ὅτι φαγεῖν ἀγαθοὶ γίγνονται καὶ σπᾷ τοῖς ὄνυξιν. μάχονται δὲ καὶ οἱ νεοττοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ περὶ τῆς ἕδρας καὶ τῆς τροφῆς. ὁ δ' ἐκβάλλει καὶ κόπτει αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἐκβαλλόμενοι βοῶσι, καὶ οὕτως ὑπολαμβάνει αὐτοὺς ἡ φήνη.

follow leaders, Basil says, "Returning to these again, there are some without government, and such are autonomous. But those that are under a leader do not rebel at being led, as the cranes, for instance."[165] Aristotle has it, "Of the birds, some are under a leader, and some are leaderless, those like the crane, and the whole race of bees being under a leader."[166] Anecdotes about the cranes now come out naturally. "After finishing his watch," Basil says, for according to his picturesque view they put out a set of sentries who keep guard, waking each other in turn, "the sentry gives a cry and goes to sleep, and the one that awakes in his turn repays the sense of security that he has enjoyed."[167] Something of the same version is given by Aristotle: "When the cranes rest, some sleep, having their heads under their wings, and standing upon one foot, but a sentry, keeping his head uncovered and looking out, when he perceives anything signifies it, crying out."[168] This account is a little less romantic than that given by the moralizing orator who is exhorting his hearers to a like faithful performance of their duties.

The kingfisher draws attention: "All winds are hushed and the waves of the sea grow calm during the seven days that the halcyon sits."[169] The waves would have had to be very calm, according to the prevalent superstition to which Basil refers, namely, that the halcyon makes her nest upon the water and floats about with it during the seven days' incubation. Aristotle gives the story: "The halcyon hatches with the returning winds of winter. And therefore the seven days before the winds, when the weather has become genial, are called halcyon days, and the seven days after the winds."[170] The turtle dove receives notice as being of a loving and constant disposition: "They say that the turtle dove, being

[165] 73, B. Πάλιν ἐν τούτοις τὰ μὲν ἀναρχά ἐστι καὶ οἷον αὐτόνομα. τὰ δὲ ὑφ' ἡγεμόνι τετάχθαι καταδεχόμενα ὡς αἱ γέρανοι.

[166] Hist. Anim., 488, a., 10. πολιτικὰ δ' ἐστὶν ὧν ἕν τι καὶ κοινὸν γίγνεται πάντων τὸ ἔργον ὅπερ οὐ πάντα ποιεῖ τὰ ἀγελαῖα. ἔστι δὲ τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπος, μέλιττα, σφήξ, μύρμηξ, γέρανος.

[167] 75, B. εἶ τὰ τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς φυλακῆς πληρουμένου ἡ μὲν βοήσασα πρὸς ὕπνον ἐτράπετο ἡ δὲ τὴν διαδοχὴν ὑποδεξαμένη, ἧς ἔτυχεν ἀσφαλείας ἀντέδωκεν ἐν τῷ μέρει.

[168] Hist. Anim., 614, b. ὅταν δὲ καθίζωνται αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι ὑπὸ τῇ πτέρυγι τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχουσαι καθεύδουσιν ἐφ' ἑνὸς ποδὸς ἐναλλὰξ ὁ δ' ἡγεμὼν ἔχων τὴν κεθαλὴν προορᾷ καὶ ὅταν αἴσθηταί τι σημαίνει βοῶν.

[169] 75, B. ἀλλ' ὅμως κοιμίζονται μὲν πάντες ἄνεμοι ἡσυχάζει δὲ κῦμα θαλάσσιον ὅταν ἅλκυὼν ἐπῳάζῃ τὰς ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας.

[170] Hist. Anim., 542, b., 4. ἡ δ' ἀλκυὼν τίκτει περὶ τροπὰς τὰς χειμερινάς. διὸ καὶ καλοῦνται ὅταν εὐδιειναὶ γένωνται αἱ τροπαὶ ἁλκυονίδες ἡμέραι ἑπτὰ μὲν πρὸ τροπῶν ἑπτὰ δὲ μετὰ τροπάς.

separated from its mate, will not enter a new union, but remains in widowhood."[171] Aristotle mentions the case without the flourish of the orator: "The turtle dove keeps the same one for its mate, and the pigeon does not approach another."[172] Legend easily lends fanciful developments, and it was a good instance for a clever speaker. Telling of the resourcefulness of the swallow, Basil cites Aristotle's account. When the swallow has no mud to cement her nest, she has to make some: "Moistening the tips of her wings in water, she rolls in very fine dust and thus procures mud in abundance."[173] Aristotle tells it briefly, as is his wont: "If mud is lacking, wetting herself, she wallows with her wings in the dust."[174] Aelian, who is not always so frank in acknowledging his debts to Aristotle, says, "The swallow, when there is an abundance of mud, bears it in her claws and fashions the nest, but if there is any lack of it, as Aristotle says, she moistens herself and, flying to the dust, flutters her wings, thus producing mud."[175] The affection of storks for one another, and especially for their parents, is a theme for Basil to enlarge at length: "They surround their father when old age makes his feathers drop off, and warm him with their wings, and provide abundantly for his support."[176] The remark made by Aristotle is, "Therefore, concerning storks, it is a matter of common talk among the many, that they are nourished in turn."[177] The song of the nightingale gives Basil opportunity to dwell upon contentedness with one's lot: "How the nightingale is always awake when sitting on her eggs, and passes the night in continual melody."[178] Aristotle makes no statement from which Basil's remark would certainly follow, but he says, "And the

[171] 76, C. τὴν τρυγόνα, φασὶ διαζευχθεῖσαν πότε τοῦ ὁμόζυγος μηκέτι τὴν πρὸς ἑτέραν καταδέχεσθαι κοινωνίαν ἀλλὰ μένειν ἀσυνδύαστον.

[172] Hist. Anim., 613, a. ἔχει δὲ τὸν ἄρρενα ἡ τρυγὼν τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ φάττα καὶ ἄλλον οὐ προσίεται.

[173] 75, A. τὰ ἄκρα τῶν πτερῶν ὕδατι καταβρέξασα εἶτα τῇ λεπτοτάτῃ κόνει ἐνειληθεῖσα οὕτως ἐπινοεῖ τοῦ πηλοῦ τὴν χρείαν.

[174] Hist. Anim., 612, b., 24. κἂν ἀπορῆται πηλοῦ, βρέχουσα αὐτὴν καλινδεῖται τοῖς πτεροῖς πρὸς τὴν κόνιν.

[175] Ælian. Hist. Anim., III., 24. Ἡ χελιδὼν ὅτε εὐποροίη πηλοῦ τοῖς ὄνυξι φέρει καὶ συμπλάττει τὴν καλιάν. εἰ δὴ ἀπορία εἴη ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης λέγει ἑαυτὴν βρέχει καὶ ἐς κόνιν ἐμπεσοῦσα φύρει τὰ πτερὰ, καὶ τοῦ πηλοῦ περιπαγέντος.

[176] 75, C. Ἐκεῖνοι τὸν πατέρα ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως πτερορρυήσαντα περιστάντες ἐν κύκλῳ τοῖς οἰκείοις πτεροῖς διαθάλπουσι καὶ τὰς τροφὰς ἀφθόνως παρασκευάζοντες.

[177] Hist. Anim., 615, b., 23. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν πελαργῶν, ὅτι ἀντεκτρέφονται, θρυλεῖται παρὰ πολλοῖς.

[178] 77, A. Πῶς ἄγρυπνον ἡ ἀηδὼν ὅταν ἐπῳάζῃ, διὰ πάσης νυκτὸς τῆς μελῳδίας μὴ ἀπολήγουσα.

nightingale sings continuously during fifteen days and nights."[179] The time required would be about the same, and the active imagination of the eastern orator would supply details. But no certain connection follows. Basil sees in the long neck of the swan an instance of utility in the purpose of the Creator. It is, "So that he may throw it like a line and take up food that is hidden at the bottom of the water."[180] Aristotle explains it thus: "Some of these birds have the beak long, just like the neck is, for they take their food from the depths."[181] Aristotle cites a natural remedy which Basil has employed, but the instance is the same: "If any one of the young swallows should injure its eyes, the swallow has a certain remedy from nature through which it restores the vision of its offspring to health."[182] Substantially the same story is told by Aristotle. Speaking of celandine and its healing qualities, he says, "And through this, if any of the young swallows injures its eyes, it is restored to health."[183] In spite of the fact that their locomotion is in the air, the winged creatures need feet, and Basil sees in this a provision of Providence: "Hence, no one of the winged creatures is without feet, since it finds its food upon the earth, and by every necessity is unable to do without feet."[184] Aristotle phrases it: "With good reason do winged things have feet, and fish lack feet. For with the former life is in the dry, but being hardly able to remain forever on the wing, there is necessity for having feet."[185] Basil contrasts the singing of the birds with the silences that follow: "For the twitterings and flappings of the wings are of the birds, as are the silences."[186] The bird songs, and especially the song of the nightingale, was a favorite in Greek literature. Aristotle's mention of the songs and silences is: "Their

[179] Hist. Anim., 632, b., 27. ἡ δ' ἀηδὼν ἄδει μὲν συνεχῶς ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας δεκαπέντε.

[180] 78, B. ἵνα, ὥσπερ τινὰ ὁρμιὰν κατάγων τὴν ἐν τῷ βάθει κεκρυμένη τροφὴν ἐκπορίζηται.

[181] De Part. Anim., 693, b., 20. ἔνια δὲ τούτων μακρὸν ἔχει τὸ ρύγχος καθάπερ καὶ τὸν αὐχένα. τὴν γὰρ τροφὴν λαμβάνουσιν ἐκ τοῦ βάθους.

[182] 75, A. ὧν ἐάν τις ἐκκεντήσῃ τὰ ὄμματα ἔχει τινὰ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ἰατρικὴν δὶ ἧς πρὸς ὑγείαν ἐπανάγει τῶν ἐκγόνων τὰς ὄψεις.

[183] De Gen. Anim., IV., 6. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν χελιδόνων ἐάν τις ἔτι νέων ὄντων ἐκκεντήσῃ τὰ ὄμματα πάλιν ὑγιάζονται.

[184] 72, A. Πλήν γε ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν πτηνῶν ἄπουν, διὰ τὸ πᾶσι τὴν δίαιταν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ὑπάρχειν καὶ πάντα ἀναγκαίως τῆς τῶν ποδῶν ὑπουργίας προσδεῖσθαι.

[185] De Incessu Anim., 18. Εὐλόγως δὲ καὶ τὰ μὲν πτηνὰ πόδας ἔχει. οἱ δ' ἰχθύες ἄποδες. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὁ βίος ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ μετέωρον δ' ἀεὶ μένειν ἀδύνατον, ὥστ' ἀνάγκη πόδας ἔχειν.

[186] 73, C. οἱ μὲν γὰρ κωτίλοι καὶ λάλοι τῶν ὀρνίθων εἰσίν. οἱ δὲ σιγηλοί.

enunciation is inarticulate, the twitterings and the silences, the singings and the silences."[187]

The diversity among kinds of birds and their characteristics is a theme for wonder: "There are also, however, ten thousand differences of species among birds, which if one catalogues according to their nature, which we touched upon in part in our examination of the fishes, he will find, indeed, that though there is one name for flying things, there is an infinity of differences among them in sizes, colors, forms, according to their lives, activities and customs . . ."[188] Aristotle states it: "For each one of these has a difference, according to its race, and there are many species of fishes and birds. And the most part differ among themselves, according to their opposing characteristics, such as color and form, some being more different and some less than others. Besides these differences they vary according to number, fewness, size, smallness and, all in all, according to excess or defect."[189] Exhorting his hearers to acts of charity, Basil says, "Do not imitate the savagery of the hook-beaked birds, who, when they see their young already about to fly, beating them with their wings and forcing them out, cast them from the nest, and for the rest take no care of them. The love of crows for their young is to be praised. The crows accompany their young already flying, furnishing them support and nourishing them a very long time."[190] Aristotle speaks of the activities of crows, as follows: "Since all birds who have hooked beaks are predatory, and when they desire their young to

[187] Hist. Anim., 488, a., 33. καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν διάλεκτον ἔχει τὰ δὲ ἀγράμματα, καὶ τὰ μὲν κωτίλα τὰ δὲ σιγηλά, τὰ δ' ᾠδικὰ, τὰ δ' ἄνωδα.

He uses ἄνωδα to signify the sudden and hushed stillness that follows just after a prolonged burst of song, as opposed to σιγήλα, the ordinary word for stillness.

[188] 72, B. Εἰσὶ μέντοι γενῶν διαφοραὶ μυρίαι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὄρνισιν ἃς ἐάν τις κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐπίῃ καθ' ὃν ἐν μέρει καὶ τῆς τῶν ἰχθύων ἐξετάσεως ἐφηψάμεθα εὑρήσει ἓν μὲν ὄνομα τῶν πετεινῶν, μυρίας δὲ ἐν τούτοις διαφορὰς ἔν τε τοῖς μεγέθεσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς σχήμασι καὶ ἐν ταῖς χροαῖς. καὶ κατὰ τοὺς βίους καὶ τὰς πράξεις καὶ τὰ ἤθη.

[189] Hist. Anim., 486, a., 23. τούτων γὰρ ἑκάτερον ἔχει διαφορὰν κατὰ τὸ γένος καί ἐστιν εἴδη πλείω ἰχθύων καὶ ὀρνίθων. διαφέρει δὲ σχεδὸν τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν μορίων ἐν αὐτοῖς παρὰ τὰς τῶν παθημάτων ἐναντιώσεις, οἷον χρώματος καὶ σχήματος τῷ τὰ μὲν μᾶλλον ταὐτὰ πεπονθέναι τὰ δ' ἧττον ἔτι δὲ πλήθει καὶ ὀλιγότητι καὶ μεγέθει καὶ σμικρότατι καὶ ὅλως ὑπεροχῇ καὶ ἐλλείψει.

[190] 76, A. Μὴ μιμήσῃ τῶν γαμψωνύχων ὀρνίθων τὸ ἀπηνές. οἳ ἐπειδὰν ἴδωσι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεοττοὺς κατατολμῶντας λοιπὸν τῆς πτήσεως ἐκβάλλουσι τῆς καλιᾶς τύπτοντες, τοῖς πτεροῖς καὶ ὠθοῦντες καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιοῦνται πρὸς τὸ λοιπόν. Ἐπαινετὸν τῆς κορώνης τὸ φιλότεκνον. ἣ καὶ πετομένοις ἤδη παρέπεται, σιτίζουσα αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκτρέφουσα μέχρι πλείστου.

fly they cast them struggling from the nest, and as has been said, the greater part of birds do this, excepting the crows, and when the young are reared, take no further note of them. But the crow for some time, loving its offspring, feeds it while flying, for the most part."[191] Basil sums up the many activities of the birds, their numerous kinds and the different colors, forms and characteristics by saying: "Innumerable, as we have said, are the activities and differences of their lives. Some among these irrational animals are political, as it were proper to a civil administration, as when they concentrate the individual energy of their number to the one common end, as in the case of the bees. This one may see."[192] Aristotle develops the idea a little more elaborately: "And there are certain differences, according to their lives and activities, for some of them are gregarious and some are solitary, some walk, some fly, some swim, and some do two of these things. Of the gregarious, some lead a civil life, as it were, some are scattered, and the gregarious among winged things are such as the dove, the crane and swan. And of swimming things the whole race of fishes, such as are called runners, tunnies, pylameds and bonito. Man, however, has either nature. And there are the polities among them, in which one thing is common to all, as not among all gregarious beasts. Such are man, the bee, and the wasp, and the crane."[193] Aristotle means in these remarks that the man and the bee, and so on, belong to the politically organized, contrasting them with certain gregarious animals that, indeed, herd together, but do not appear to do anything toward a common end. The observation of any normal person who lived a retired life at Annesi, in an

[191] Hist. Anim., 563, b., 7. ἐπεὶ πάντες γ' ὡς εἰπεῖν οἱ γαμψώνυχες ὅταν θᾶττον οἱ νεοττοὶ δύνωνται πέτεσθαι ἐκβάλλουσι τύπτοντες ἐκ τῆς νεοττιᾶς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ὥσπερ εἴρηται σχεδὸν οἱ πλεῖστοι τοῦτο δρῶσι καὶ θρέψαντες οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιοῦνται τὸ λοιπὸν πλὴν κορώνης. αὕτη δ' ἐπί τινα χρόνον ἐπιμελεῖται. καὶ γὰρ ἤδη πετομένων σιτίζει παραπετομένη.

[192] 73, D. Μυρίαι ὡς ἔφαμεν καὶ τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν βίων διαφοραί. Ἔστι δέ τινα καὶ πολιτικὰ τῶν ἀλόγων εἴπερ πολιτείας ἴδιον τὸ πρὸς ἓν πέρας κοινὸν συννεύειν τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν μελισσῶν ἄν τις ἴδοι.

[193] Hist. Anim., 487, b., 33. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ τοιαίδε διαφοραὶ κατὰ τοὺς βίους καὶ τὰς πράξεις. τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἀγελαῖα, τὰ δὲ μοναδικά, καὶ πεζά, καὶ πτηνά, καὶ πλωτά, τὰ δ' ἐπαμφοτερίζει. καὶ τῶν ἀγελαίων (καὶ τῶν μοναδικῶν) τὰ μὲν πολιτικὰ τὰ δὲ σποραδικά ἐστιν. ἀγελαῖα μὲν οὖν οἷον ἐν τοῖς πτηνοῖς τὸ τῶν περιστερῶν γένος, καὶ γέρανος, καὶ κύκνος (γαμψώνυχον δ' οὐδὲν ἀγελαῖον) καὶ τῶν πλωτῶν πολλὰ γένη τῶν ἰχθύων, οἷον οὓς καλοῦσι δρομάδας, θύννοι, πηλαμύδες, ἀμίαι. ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπος ἐπαμφοτερίζει. πολιτικὰ δ' ἐστὶν ὧν ἕν τι καὶ κοινὸν γίγνεται πάντων τὸ ἔργον ὅπερ οὐ πάντα ποιεῖ τὰ ἀγελαῖα. ἔστι δὲ τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπος, μέλιττα, σφήξ, μύρμηξ, γέρανος.

unsettled locality, would enable him to make notes upon the habits of wild creatures inhabiting the near country and occasionally coming within view. This simple source would supply many of the reminiscences and theories that Basil later evinces.

4. *Aelian, Plutarch and late philosophers.*

Allusions traceable to Aelian are few. A superstition long prevailed among the ancients that vultures brought forth their young without mating. Basil mentions it casually: "Vultures, as people say, bring forth without mating, and are for the most part very long lived."[194] Aelian gives it thus: "Male vultures are said not to beget, but females altogether."[195]

Speaking of the care of unreasoning creatures for their own safety and convenience, Basil says, "When the sea urchin foresees a disturbance of the winds, it gets under a great pebble and, clinging to it as to an anchor, it tosses about in safety, retained by the weight, which prevents it from becoming the plaything of the waves."[196] Aelian tells it thus: "The wave, rolling along the sea urchins toward the outer world and dashing them violently from the sea against dry land, casts them forth. But they, therefore, fearing this, when they perceive the waves heaving and about to rise up even stronger, with their spines lay hold of pebbles, which are easy to carry, and thus have a prop and are not easily rolled away, nor do they suffer what they feared."[197] Telling of the means of defense that wild creatures have, Basil expatiates upon the sea hare: "The sea hare is not less terrible, bearing with it swift and certain death."[198] Basil had been speaking of the sting ray, and probably had in mind some variety of the Portuguese man-of-war. Aelian gives it: "When the hare is sick, then being least able to swim, it is cast up on the beach, and whoever, being

[194] 76, B. τοὺς δὲ γῦπας φασὶν ἀσυνδυάστως τίκτειν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ταῦτα μακροβιωτάτους ὄντας.

[195] Ælian, Hist. Anim., II., 46. γῦπα δὲ ἄρρενα οὐ φασὶ γίνεσθαί ποτε, ἀλλὰ θηλείας ἁπάσας.

[196] 67, A. ὅς ὅταν προίδῃ ταραχὴν ἐξ ἀνέμων ψηφῖδά τινα ὑπελθων γενναίαν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὥσπερ ἐπ' ἀγκύρας βεβαίως σαλεύει κατεχόμενος τῷ βάρει πρὸς τὸ μὴ ῥᾳδίως τοῖς κύμασιν ὑποσύρεσθαι.

[197] Ælian, De Nat. Anim., VII., 33. τοὺς ἐχίνους ὁ κλύδων κυλίων ἐς τὰ ἔξω καὶ προσαρράττων τῷ ξηρῷ τῆς θαλάσσης βιαιότατα. ἐκβάλλει τοῦτο τοίνυν ἐκεῖνοι δεδιότες ὅταν αἴσθωνται φρίττον τὸ κῦμα καὶ μέλλον ἀδρότερον ὑπαινίστασθαι ταῖς ἀκάνθαις ἀναιροῦνται λιθίδια ὅσα εὔκολα ἐστὶ φέρειν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔχουσιν ἔρμα καὶ οὐ ῥαδίως κυλίονται οὐδὲ πάσχουσιν ὃ δεδοίκασιν.

[198] 69, C. καὶ λαγωὸς ὁ θαλάσσιος οὐχ ἧττόν ἐστι φσβερὰ ταχεῖαν καὶ ἀπαραίτησαν τὴν φθορὰν ἐπιφέροντα.

careless, is touched by it on the hand, perishes."[199] A popular fallacy about the lamprey and the viper comes in for notice in the same section: "The viper, cruelest of reptiles, unites itself with the sea lamprey, and announces its arrival by hissing. It calls the lamprey from the depths of the sea to conjugal union."[200] Aelian tells it: "The lamprey, when it desires conjugal union, proceeds to the land, and is anxious to mate with an especially evil partner. For it repairs to the den of the viper."[201] In connection with the calculations of animals upon future events, Basil states that "You may see flocks of vultures following armies and calculating the results of warlike preparations."[202] Aelian has it: "Vultures, indeed, follow outgoing armies, knowing, as if by divination, that they are going to war, and that each fight results in dead men, and being aware of these things."[203] The art of the bee is graphically presented: "See how the advances of geometry are but child's play to the sagacious bee."[204] Aelian expresses the thought briefly: "The bees exhibit geometry and other plans and suitable moulds of their own accord, without the art either of regular canons or the compass of the mathematicians."[205]

Basil has a single instance probably from Aratus. Speaking of the new moon, he says, "If its horns appear thick and red, the weather portends for us heavy rains or a gale from the south."[206] The verses as Aratus gives them are: "With all bright, it is a sign

[199] Ælian, Hist. Anim., XV., 19. ὅταν δὲ ἄρα νοσήσας ὅδε ὁ λαγωὸς εἶτα ἥκιστος ὢν νήχεσθαι ἐκβρασθῇ πᾶς ὅστις ἂν αὐτοῦ προσάψηται τῇ χειρὶ ἀπόλλυται ἀμεληθείς.

[200] 68, B. Ἔχιδνα τὸ χαλεπώτατον τῶν ἑρπετῶν πρὸς γάμον ἀπαντᾷ τῆς θαλασσίας μυραίνης καὶ συριγμῷ τὴν παρουσίαν σημήνασα ἐκκαλεῖται αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν βυθῶν πρὸς γαμικὴν συμπλοκήν.

[201] Ælian, De Nat. Anim., I., 50. Ἡ μύραινα ὅταν ὁρμῆς ἀφροδίσου ὑποπλησθῇ πρόεισιν ἐς τὴν γῆν καὶ ὁμιλίαν ποθεῖ νυμφίου καὶ μάλα πονηροῦ. πάρεισι γὰρ εἰς ἔχεως φωλεόν.

[202] 78, C. Ἴδοις γὰρ ἂν μυρίας ἀγέλας γυπῶν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις παρεπομένας ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὅπλων παρασκευῆς τεκμαιρομένων τὴν ἔκβασιν.

[203] Ælian, De Nat. Anim., II., 46. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ταῖς ἐκδήμοις στρατιαῖς ἕπονται γῦπες καὶ μάλα γε μαντικῶς ὅτι ἐς πόλεμον χωροῦσιν εἰδότες καὶ ὅτι μάχη πᾶσα ἐργάζεται νεκροὺς καὶ τοῦτο ἐγνωκότες.

[204] 74, D. κατάμαθε πῶς τὰ τῆς γεωμετρίας εὑρέματα παρεργά ἐστι τῆς σοφωτάτης μελίσσης.

[205] Ælian, De Nat. Anim., V., 13. Γεωμετρίαν δὲ καὶ κάλλη σχημάτων καὶ ὡραίας πλάσεις αὐτῶν ἄνευ τέχνης τε καὶ κανόνων καὶ τοῦ καλουμένου ὑπὸ τῶν σοφῶν διαβήτου ἀποδείκνυνται αἱ μέλιτται.

[206] 53, C. παχεῖα δὲ ταῖς κεραίαις καὶ ὑπέρυθρος φαινομένη ἢ ὕδωρ λάβρον ἀπὸ νεφῶν ἢ νότου βιαίαν κίνησιν ἀπειλεῖ.

of fair weather; with a reddish sky the ways will be windy, but when dark in all quarters it is a sign of rain."[207]

Among late influences Plutarch's ideas hold a place. Basil read Plutarch extensively, and effect is quite noticeable at times. For instance, "Those writing upon the nature of the world have written much about the shape of the earth. If it is spherical or cylindrical, if it resembles a perfect circle and is equally round at all points, or if it is like a winnowing basket or is hollow in the middle, . . . writers upon the world have suggested all these possibilities, each destroying what went before him."[208] Plutarch states the theories: "Thales and the Stoics, and those after them, thought that the earth is spherical. Anaximander, that the earth is formed in a stone cone of plane surfaces. Anaximenes, that it is flat like a table. Leucippus, that it is shaped like a drum. Democritus, that it is quoit shaped and hollow in the middle."[209] A theory of Empedocles is reviewed in the same manner. Basil says that "Rock crystal owes its metamorphosis to extreme congelation, they say."[210] Plutarch writes: "Empedocles thought that the heavens were hardened from congealed air, crystallized by fire, the fiery nature and the airy nature circling around in either of the hemispheres."[211] Another early thinker is brought in. Speaking of the tides, Basil says, "And the moon draws the sea back again by her own respiration, and then by her respiration forces it again to its own boundaries."[212] Plutarch gives the origin of the opinion: "Pytheas, the Massilian, thought that the flood tides

[207] Aratus, Diosemeia, 70, ff. Πάντη γὰρ καθαρῇ κε μάλ' εὔδια τεκμήραιο. πάντα δ' ἐρευθομένῃ δοκέειν ἀνέμοιο κελεύθους. ἄλλοθι δ' ἄλλο μελαινομένῃ δοκέειν ὑετοῖο.

[208] 80, C. Οὐδὲ ἐπειδὴ οἱ τὰ περὶ κόσμου γράψαντες πολλὰ περὶ σχημάτων γῆς διελέχθησαν εἴτε σφαῖραἔστιν εἴτε κύλινδρος εἴτε καὶ δίσκῳ ἐστὶν ἐμφερὴς ἡ γῆ, καὶ ἐξίσου πάντοθεν ἀποτετόρνυται, ἢ λικνοειδής ἐστι καὶ μεσόκοιλος πρὸς πάσας γὰρ ταύτας τὰς ὑπονοίας οἱ τὰ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου γράψαντες ὑπηνέχθησαν τὰ ἀλλήλων ἕκαστος καταλύοντες.

[209] Plutarch, De Plac. Philosophorum, III., 10. Θαλῆς καὶ οἱ Στωικοὶ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτῶν σφαιροειδῆ τὴν γῆν. Ἀναξίμανδρος λίθῳ κίονι τὴν γῆν προσφερῆ τῶν ἐπιπέδων. Ἀναξιμένης τραπεζοειδῆ. Λεύκιππος τυμπανοειδῆ. Δημόκριτος δισκοειδῆ μὲν τῷ πλάτει κοίλην δὲ τῷ μέσῳ.

[210] 26, B. ὁποία ἐστὶν ἥ τε τοῦ κρυστάλλου λίθου ὃν δι' ὑπερβάλλουσιν τοῦ ὕδατος πῆξιν μεταποιεῖσθαί φασιν.

[211] Plutarch, De Plac. Philosophorum, II., 11. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς στερέμνιον εἶναι τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐξ ἀέρος συμπαγέντος ὑπὸ πυρὸς κρυσταλλοειδῶς τὸ πυρῶδες καὶ τὸ ἀερῶδες ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων περιέχοντα.

[212] 61, C. Καὶ πάλιν ταῖς ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐκπνοίαις εἰς τὸ οἰκεῖον μέτρον προωθουμένη.

occurred from the increase of the moon toward full and the ebb from its decrease."[213] Pytheas was apparently the first man who connected the influence of the moon with tidal movements. Another trace of Plutarch appears in the following: "The tortoise, indeed, when it is gorged with the flesh of the viper, escapes harm from the venomous animal through the power of marjoram."[214] Plutarch says explicitly that "Tortoises eat marjoram when bitten by a snake, and wild rue also, and so do civets."[215] Basil touches a common idea concerning ants when he says, "You may be certain that you will not see rain fall from the sky so long as the ant has left out its grain."[216] The idea that ants carried out their hoarded grain and spread it on the ground to dry, when they feared it might mould, was common. Plutarch says, "Aratus makes this a sign of rain, 'And the ants bring in more quickly from without all the seeds of the hollow food.' And some do not write seeds, but grains, as referring to hoarded fruits. For when the ants find the collected grain damp, and they fear its decay and change, they bear it out. And the anticipation of the sprouting of the wheat surpasses all the forethought of intelligence."[217] The action of the moon's rays is a matter for comment: "Observe how fresh meat is soon spoiled under the action of the moon."[218] Plutarch says, "By far the greater part of what is gathered is changed by the moon, and it is difficult to decide concerning the cause."[219]

The development of earthly things before the creation of the sun is a theory Plutarch credits to Empedocles. Basil writes, "If

[213] Plutarch, De Plac. Philosophorum, III., 17. Πυθέας ὁ Μασσαλιώτης τῇ πληρώσει τῆς σελήνης τὰς πλημμύρας γίνεσθαι τῇ δὲ μειώσει τὰς ἀμπώτιδας.

[214] 82, A. Χελώνη δὲ σαρκῶν ἐχίδνης ἐμφορηθεῖσα διὰ τῆς τοῦ ὀριγάνου ἀντιπαθείας φεύγει τὴν βλάβην τοῦ ἰοβόλου.

[215] Plutarch, De Soll. Anim., 974, b. Χελῶναι μὲν ὀρίγανον γαλαῖ δὲ πήγανον ὅταν ὄφεως φάγωσιν ἐπεθίουσι.

[216] 83, A. 'Αμέλει οὐκ ἂν ἴδοις ὄμβρον ἐκ νεφῶν ἐπιρρυέντα παρ' ὅσον χρόνον ἐκ τῶν μυρμήκων ὁ σῖτος προβέβληται.

[217] Plutarch, De Soll. Anim., 967, F. ὑετοῦ ποιεῖται σημεῖον ὁ Ἄρατος. ἢ κοίλης μύρμηκες ὀχῆς ἐξ ὤεα πάντα θᾶσσον ἀνηνέγκαντο. καὶ τινες οὐκ ᾠὰ γράφουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐὰ ὡς τοὺς ἀποκειμένους καρποὺς ὅταν εὑρῶτα συνάγοντες αἴσθωνται καὶ φοβηθῶσι φθορὰν καὶ σῆψιν ἀναφερόντων. ὑπερβάλλει δὲ πᾶσαν ἐπίνοιαν συνέσεως ἡ τοῦ πυροῦ τῆς βλαστήσεως προκατάληψις.

[218] 61, B. καὶ τὰ νεοφαγῆ τῶν κρεῶν ταχὺ πρεπόμενα τῇ προσβολῇ τῆς σελήνης.

[219] Plutarch, Quæst. Conv., III., 10. ἄλλον ἔφη πολὺ μεῖζονα κομιζόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης διαφθαρῆναι καὶ σφόδρα γε περὶ τῆς αἰτίας διαπορεῖν.

they are sure that the earth was adorned before the genesis of the sun, they ought to withdraw their vast admiration for the sun, because they believe that plants and grasses vegetated before it rose."[220] He refers to pagan philosophers who had professed admiration for the sun, and Plutarch, in discussing Empedocles, says, "Empedocles says that the trees were the first of living things to spring from the earth, before the sun rose and before day and night were divided."[221] A Stoic theory comes also to note: "It is just as impious to say that evil originates from God."[222] Basil has been discussing one variety of error, and here turns to another, which Plutarch charges to the Stoics.[223] The opinions of most ancient philosophers were well and freely misrepresented by friend and foe alike, and it is always difficult to judge them with certainty. Speaking of the skill in tracking displayed by a dog, Basil says that after scenting one of different trails he can knowingly take the right one: "What more is done by those who, philosophically occupied in theorizing, draw lines in the dust, rejecting two propositions to show that the third is true?"[224] Such sophists, the saint contends, show no more intelligence than the dog, if as much, for after scenting trails he picks the right one, as it is the only one to follow, while the sophists, rejecting all theories except the one that they had beforehand decided to accept, must needs come to it at last. Plutarch tells stories of quibbles used by the sophists on the same point.[225] Basil endeavors to explain the theory of sight: "Objects lose size in our sight when at a very great distance, because the sight can not clear the intermediate distance and is, as it were, exhausted in the middle of its rush, and

[220] 40, B. Ἐὰν ἄρα πεισθῶσιν ὅτι πρὸ τῆς ἐκείνου γενέσεως τὰ περὶ τὴν γῆν πάντα διακεκόσμητο καὶ τοῦ ἀμέτρου περὶ αὐτὸν θαύματος καθυφῶσιν ἐνθυμηθέντες ὅτι χόρτου καὶ βοτάνης νεώτερος ἐστι κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν.

[221] Plutarch, De Placi. Philosophorum, V., 910, C. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς πρῶτα τὰ δένδρα τῶν ζῴων ἐκ γῆς ἀναδῦναί φησι, πρὶν τὸν ἥλιον περιαπλωθῆναι καὶ πρὶν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα διακριθῆναι.

[222] 16, C. Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ παρὰ θεοῦ τὸ κακὸν τὴν γένεσιν ἔχειν εὐσεβές ἐστι λέγειν.

[223] *Cf.* Plutarch, Stoicos, 1976. In this section Plutarch lays this error to the Stoics' account, but it is not certain that they ever said it or that it was their opinion.

[224] 84, C. τί περισσότερον ποιοῦσιν οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν διαγραμμάτων σεμνῶς καθεζόμενοι καὶ τὴν κόνιν καταχαράσσοντες τριῶν προτάσεων ἀναιροῦντες τὰς δύο καὶ ἐν τῇ λειπομένῃ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐξευρίσκοντες.

[225] Plutarch, De Sollertia Anim., 726, ff. Most of these quibbles, which consisted in sleight of hand tricks, or verbal plays that confused the hearer, are too well known to need mention.

only a fraction of it gets to its visible object."[226] Plutarch gives the idea as if it were really due to Plato: "Plato said that we see by the sunaugeia; that there was a flow of rays from the eye of a human being at a certain time through the air, and an outflow of rays from the object seen. This flow was easily dissolved midway in the air, and it was co-extensive or otherwise along with any inflammation of the eyes. It was called the Platonic sunaugeia."[227] Plutarch's idea is confused, but he has approximately the same idea that Basil is trying to state.

A fair instance of the indirect way in which connections will sometimes appear is found in this remark. "For may not some word be found," says Basil, "a healer for such misfortune?"[228] While Plutarch dwells upon the thought of words being healers, thus, "For words are like healers of a sick soul, when one's heart is weakened at a critical time."[229] The thought is the same, but it has traveled through a very roundabout channel. Basil, as a regular reader of Plutarch, might be expected to give much from Plutarch and to refer to many ideas that Plutarch had formulated. His rendering of the thought would almost necessarily be less accurate than that of the earlier writer, and Plutarch is never celebrated for accuracy. Basil seldom tries to give the account as he got it, but rather to reproduce it as effectively and fluently as possible, and arrange the ideas to suit the case in hand. This destroys most of the possibilities for connecting instances.

A single case occurs that may have been taken from Marcus Aurelius, but like most of the other ideas upon moralizing, it lies open to doubt because of Basil's tendency to preach religion into all his compositions. He expatiates in the Hexaemeron upon the necessity of considering one's misfortunes not as injuries, but as helps on the road of moral perfection: "Sickness and poverty, obscurity, death, and in short, all human evils should be regarded really not as evils, because the things which are their opposites are

[226] 59, B. Συναιρεῖσθαι γὰρ πέφυκεν ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις διαστήμασι τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ὁρωμένων τῆς ὁρατικῆς δυνάμεως οὐκ ἐξικνουμένης τὸν μεταξὺ τόπον διαπερᾶν ἀλλ' οἱονεὶ ἐν δαπανωμένης τῷ μέσῳ καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον αὐτῆς μέρος προσβαλλούσης τοῖς ὁρατοῖς.

[227] Plutarch, De Placitis Philosophorum, IV., 13. Πλάτων κατὰ συναύγειαν τοῦ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν φωτὸς ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἀπορρέοντος εἰς τὸν ὁμογενῆ ἀέρα τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων φερομένου τοῦ δὲ περὶ τὸν μεταξὺ ἀέρα εὐδιάχυτον ὄντα καὶ εὔτρεπτον συνεκτεινομένου τῷ πυρώδει τῆς ὄψεως. αὕτη λέγεται πλατονικὴ συναύγεια.

[228] Letter 29. τὶς γὰρ ἂν καὶ λόγος εὑρεθείη τοσαύτης συμφορᾶς ἰατρός;

[229] Plutarch, De Consolatione, Consolatio ad Apollonium. ψυχῆς γὰρ νοσούσης εἰσὶν ἰατροὶ λόγοι ὅταν τις ἐν καιρῷ γε μαλθάσσῃ κέαρ.

not rated as unmitigated good."[230] In a very general way the same ideas appear in the works of Marcus Aurelius.[231] Other dim resemblances could be traced out in different passages, and just as Basil approaches Marcus Aurelius, he also seems to touch upon the works of Epictetus and similar moralizing writers. But these similarities are vague. The general rules of the Christian religion would be preached in any case, and in many points they resembled the doctrines of the better pagan philosophers. The efforts of the Stoics and other moralists were vague and cloudy and offered but little ground for comparison with the strong light of revealed faith.

In the use of the philosophers, or such persons as can generally be classed among the philosophers, according to the ancient conception of philosophy, it would seem that the greatest borrowings are from Plato. Most of the Fathers, both Latin and Greek, were strong admirers of Plato, and found much in his writings which approached the Christian ideals, and they found these doctrines beautifully expressed. With good reason they liked him. In Aristotle, Basil has an influence far less direct than that of Plato, and yet Aristotle has had a force in Basil's writings which is very important. It is all the more to be considered for the fact that Aristotle's powerful thought and far reaching influence are so subtile. Of the other thinkers the influences are far to seek. Basil read Plutarch freely. He also read many of the earlier philosophers, and he doubtless knew their lives. Diogenes Laertius has the only record on a general scale of the careers of these men. Some remarks may be referred to Diogenes Laertius with at least the right to give him the greater degree of probability, but the case is simply one that cannot be sure. Basil's debt to the Greek philosophers then is very large. It is in no doubt. The literary obligations are mainly to Plato. Other men were used only as occasion demanded, and irregular citations give little clue to their literary bearing either upon Basil or such men as may have influenced him. In the vaguer class of usages Basil's expressions are always open to various uncertainties because of his many other associations, and a shadow of doubt must attach to any evidence of connections.

[230] 17, B. Νόσον γὰρ καὶ πενίαν καὶ ἀδοξίαν καὶ θάνατον καὶ ὅσα λυπηρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὔπω καὶ ἐν τῇ μοίρᾳ τῶν κακῶν καταλογίζεσθαι ἄξιον διὰ τὸ μηδὲ τὰ ἀντικείμενα τούτοις ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἡμᾶς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀριθμεῖν.

[231] *Cf.* Marcus Aurelius, Meditations, II., 11, ff.

CONCLUSION

Fourth century learning was on the dividing line between Christianity and Paganism. A little before Basil's time education was almost all pagan; a few years later it had become Christian, and imperial edicts had closed the schools to pagan professors. The readings and studies open to a fourth century student are fairly well exemplified in the display of his erudition that Basil exhibits. Various universities and libraries in turn had exerted their influence upon Hellenism and its literature, and the passing nations had successively given their contributions. Jewish traders, who made up nearly one-seventh of the population of Egypt at this period, and Alexandrian scholars who labored with the resources of the Ptolemies, had played their part in affecting the language and literature that prevailed in their age. Basil is a product of the century.

His employment of Greek authors is such as might be expected of a rhetorician of his time and accomplishments. He shows a knowledge of more important writers, based upon thorough examination. His employment is everywhere that of a friendly and intelligent critic. At no time does he formally condemn either the pagan classics or the study of them. The distinctions that he makes are no more sharp and severe than had been made by Plato. Intelligent discrimination is his rule. There is, then, no ground for suspecting that he was an enemy to classical learning, and every reason for believing that he was its champion.

His education was obtained at the pagan university of Athens, and the works of pagan writers formed the curriculum. For four or five years Basil read and studied these books with a zeal and intelligence that drew attention and compliments from all teachers. His ready reference to the productions of the old masters, and his insight into their spirit are evident. In view of these facts alone, his attitude toward the pagan classics would seem to need no explanation. But in his Speech to the Youths, Basil reinforced his almost obvious stand by direct statement, saying in so many

words that when the pagan writers teach what is good, and noble, and true, they are to be read, while if they teach vice they must be shunned. There exists no more explicit declaration of the right position of the classics in education than this. Every educator from Plato down has maintained similar views. "If anyone," says Basil, "praises the good thus, we will listen to his words with satisfaction, for our objects are in common." And again, "Thus, then, we shall be influenced by those writings of pagan authors which have an exposition of virtue." His stand is clear enough. The pagan classics have a place in Christian education, and when properly selected and intelligently taught and received, their influence in education is beneficial and necessary.

It was but natural that he should champion the classics, for he understood them. He could admire them, for he appreciated the great minds that had produced them, and he had a true sense of their power and worth. As he had no thought of appearing as a formal literary critic, the remarks that give an index to his views of Greek literature are of necessity scattered and casual, yet none the less they ring true, and time, while confirming most, has not changed one of them.

From the consideration of the poets, the following points are reasonable inferences: There are twenty-eight instances, all told, leading up to epic poems, while but nine appear in lyric, and eight in dramatic verse. Epic verse had taken the strongest grasp upon his mind, with lyric and dramatic about an even second, for the difference between the two is too slight for consideration. The overwhelmingly preponderant reputation of Homer accounts for the first case. But, considering lyric and dramatic verse together, and in view of the vast bulk of plays that had been produced, one might have expected a wider range of dramatic reminiscence from such a scholar. It is an established fact that with the later Greeks Euripides was the popular dramatist. He was the materialist, the scoffer even. He was read almost to the complete exclusion of Aeschylus and Sophocles. Basil does not even name Sophocles and gives Aeschylus but passing mention, drawing almost all his real dramatic references from Euripides. It shows how well Basil followed the canons of his age, and how truly he may be judged a fair representative of it. Still, this does not account for the small number of dramatic references. But in this consideration a significant fact occurs. In the first chapter of his Life of St. Macrine Gregory of Nyssa, is discoursing upon Basil's early

education and laying stress upon the predominant religious phases. He says that when the Greek poets were read the noble sentiments of tragedy were commended, while comic poetry was banned, and its indecent or irreligious points held up to horror. This is a very interesting statement and perhaps accounts for the fact that Basil, who gives evidence of being so widely read in other Greek literature, and who quoted freely from authors in many other fields, does not quote from comedy and makes no reference to known comedians. But if comedy were subtracted from the body of dramatic writings, the bulk of the total would be largely reduced and the range of possible quotations would be very much lessened. So, if it is considered that Euripides occupied the attention of dramatic readers, to the great detriment of Aeschylus and Sophocles, and that comic writers were absolutely excluded, the small number of Basil's dramatic references may be in some measure explained.

His other literary views among the poets are very clear. "Assuredly we want some Simonides or like poet," he says, when indulging in a condolence, "to bewail our misfortunes from personal experience, but why name Simonides? I would rather mention Aeschylus, or any other who has set forth a great calamity in words like his, and uttered lamentations with a mighty voice." The verses of Simonides bewailed Greeks killed in the Persian wars. The characterization of Aeschylus is excellent. Basil accords popularity and high motives to Hesiod when he says that Hesiod's verses are sung by everyone: "What else can we suppose Hesiod had in mind in making those verses that are sung by everyone, if not to exhort the youthful to virtue?" He mentions the Margites, long attributed to Homer, expressing a doubt that the production is truly Homeric. Modern criticism has agreed with his doubt and definitely separated the work from real Homeric verse.

Basil's use of quotation is strictly rhetorical and subservient to the needs of the case in hand, the verse being given accurately where possible and in a loose manner when memory fails. His use of the poets is effective and in some instances accurate. His reading would seem to have been very wide, and it indicates an acquaintance with some of the first figures of Greek literature. The friendly way in which he regards them is shown fairly in the use and criticism that he makes of them.

His usages of history and of historical events is that of a

rhetor who pretended to no scientific knowledge of history, but who employed historic incidents as tales that adorn a speech when well and dramatically introduced. He gives no clue as to where he gets them, but leaves that out as a matter of no importance in the case at hand. His use, therefore, is never precise, nor can it be called either definite or informative.

In considering philosophical ideas it must be remembered that certain forms of thought are common to many schools, and have survived through centuries, and have been used by so many men and in so many systems that assigning them a definite place is next to impossible. Basil, who was well read in philosophy and who shows traces of a wide knowledge of the very early thinkers, has hints of many forms of philosophy and many systems of thought. In his use of the philosophers Aristotle, Pythagoras and others are mentioned, but Plato is the outstanding figure. The obligations to Plato are more evident than those to other thinkers, for Plato was also one of the great literary lights. Of the Greek prose writers and, most of all, of the philosophers, there was not one who was so poetical and imaginative, or who was so elevated in theories and brilliant in delineations as Plato. Without question the more elaborate passages of oratory approach closer to poetry than anything else in prose. And Basil was at one time a teacher of rhetoric. So a certain easily recognized literary kinship existed between his field and the bright imagery of Plato's fancies. The poetical flights of the Greek appealed to Basil's sensitive mind and vivid imagination, and the philosopher's diction was at once a model and a despair to succeeding imitators. If the saint's attitude toward Plato could be gauged merely by the number of times that he names him, this alone would show how much preference Basil gave him. Basil makes a shrewd characterization in this remark: "Your good taste has perceived that those pagan philosophers who wrote dialogues, Aristotle and Theophrastus, went straight at the matter, knowing that they were not possessed of the graceful style of Plato." The criticism is just. The respective styles of the extant works of Aristotle and Plato are too well known to need comparison. The lesser philosophers are of small importance in a literary way, and the fragments of their works which exist leave little trace for study of literary abilities or tendencies.

In Attic literature the only men whom Basil seems to have left out of his ready references are the Attic orators. A mention, indeed, is made of Demosthenes. But Antiphon, Andocides,

Lysias and others, who were widely and favorably known, do not appear. The great predominance of the sophistic rhetoric of his own day had undoubtedly much to do with this situation. But an orators' works do not lead themselves to quotation so readily as the verses of the poets and the apothegms of the philosophers.

The extent of his knowledge of Greek literature is evinced by his citation of names and of well known authors. He names thirteen men whose works have come down to us, prominent among whom are Homer, Hesiod, Theognis, Plato, Aristotle and Demosthenes. He names ten philosophers whose works have perished, or survive only in fragments, or who have left no regularly recorded works, citing such figures as Anaximander, Anaximenes, Democritus, Leucippus, Empedocles and Xenophanes, of Colophon. He gives anecdotes readily connected with Xenophon, Plutarch, Thucydides and Herodotus. In short, the range of his ready references takes in almost the whole sweep of Greek literature and leaves no room to doubt that he did not know his classics thoroughly. Basil's use of literary adornment, and figures, and citations is, in general, decidedly sparing,[1] and far from the extreme developments of such men as St. Chrysostom.[2] There is no passage in Basil in which it does not appear that he could have said more if he had wished. But rather there is a trace of reticence, and a use of classic allusion in a way graceful and effective instead of showy. It proves that he not only understood the classic spirit of moderation, but acted upon it.

Among other Fathers of the Eastern Church, Basil stands out prominently in his views of education. While not one of them was opposed in a blind and destructive way to pagan learning, not one took the extremely enlightened and advanced position that Basil assumed. In his theory of education Basil favored the rational study of the pagan classics. Some of the Fathers were undecided, and their attacks upon pagan writers gave the impression that they were unalterably opposed to the whole theory of pagan literature, from which it would follow, of course, that its use in the schools is to be condemned. St. Chrysostom, by his violent invectives against the vice and error of paganism, has long been thought an enemy of Greek classicism from every angle.[3]

[1] *Cf.* Campbell, J. M., Influence of the Second Sophistic upon the Sermons of St. Basil the Great.

[2] *Cf.* Ameringer, T., Stylistic Influence of the Second Sophistic on the Panegyrical Sermons of St. John Chrysostom.

[3] *Cf.* Nægele, A., Johannos Chrysostomos und sein Verhältnis zum Hellenismus.

The falsity of such impressions is well established. But in contradistinction to the men who were not so outspoken, Basil's stand is clear. His education at the pagan university of Athens alone would give an index to his ideas upon the question of education, and the readiness with which, in contrast to the other Fathers, he grasped the non-christian writings, and selected from them such as suited the christian purposes of education, training and philosophy of life, indicates satisfactorily how favorably and logically he considered the case of the classics in education. His viewpoint was certainly the most enlightened of his time, and deserves especial mention in an age when paganism was dying and christianity wavering whether or not to accept the heritage of beauty, thought and culture bequeathed to it by the civilization that was passing away.

Basil's acquaintance with pagan literature is that of an understanding friend, not blind to its worse qualities, but by no means condemning the whole on that account. His use is rhetorical and sophistic. He quotes the poets and paraphrases their famous lines and expressions. He tells the stories that the historians had made celebrated. He knows the names and theories of the philosophers. He employs each and every one as the oratorical occasion demands, but never in a hostile or bigoted manner. Examination of Basil's works makes these points evident. At no time does he formally condemn or reject the pagan classics. Whenever his subject permits he uses them in an elaborate and sympathetic way, and with evident understanding of their spirit and purpose. It follows that he was in every sense a true friend to the better productions of pagan literature.

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VITA

Leo Vincent Jacks was born at Grand Island, Nebraska, March 14, 1896. He received the A.B. degree from St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas, in June, 1917. He served in the U. S. Army from 1917 to 1919 inclusive, with the Thirty-fourth Division in the United States, and with the Thirty-second Division overseas. He received the A.M. degree from the Catholic University of America in 1920. During his course at the Catholic University he has attended the lectures of Roy J. Deferrari, A.M., Ph.D., in Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit Languages and Literatures, and of the Rev. J. P. Christopher, A.M., in Latin, and of J. M. Campbell, A.M., in Greek, and of Charles H. McCarthy, Ph.D., in American History.

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